A

VINDICATION

OF

GEN. RICHARD SMITH,

Chairman of the Select Committee

OF THE

Houſe of Commons,

As to his Competency to preſide over and direct, an Inveſtigation into the beſt Mode of providing the Inveſtment for the Eaſt India Company's Homeward-bound Bengal Ships.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Some Inſtances to prove, that the GENERAL is not that proud, inſolent, and iraſcible Man, his Enemies would induce the Public to believe him to be.

AS ALſO,

A few *ſerious* Hints to the *Select Committee*, tending to ſhew, that they are waſting their Time in the Minutiæ of Aſiatic Commerce, whilſt the great Outlines and conſequential Branches, are in danger of being overlooked.

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A

VINDICATION,

OF

GENERAL RICHARD SMITH, &c.

POPE ſays, that the moſt infallible mark of the appearance of a genius, is the yelping of the dunces. Merit, in whatever ſhape or form it is preſented to the world, never fails to draw envy on the head of its poſſeſſors. Rodney fought for the honour of his country, with the perſeverance of an old Roman: Envy grew ſick, nor would any thing bring her to herſelf, but his removal; for had he been continued in command, *Vaudreuil* might have been ſent home after De Graſſe. He had been guilty of ſuch kind of conduct more than once before; envy and faction trembled for the conſequences, and would no longer truſt him.

Mr. Haſtings, the Governor General of Bengal, has rendered his country ſuch ſervices, as will immortalize his name. He has, by his ſpirit and conduct, driven poor envy almoſt mad; for hitherto ſhe has not been able to come at him. Her greateſt effort was made on the floor of the Chapel, by Edmund her High Prieſt, in a dark hour, when a few friends to her cauſe were gathered together. Of five hundred and fifty-eight members of the club (not legion) where his merit was oppoſed to the malice of envy, forty-two only were preſent, moſtly retained in the cauſe of the goddeſs, and he was in conſequence—*voted out*;—not black balled, as happened once by the influence of the ſame deity, to my honourable and worthy friend the General, at the club at Brooke's.

Another of our witty poets obſerves, that

"*When inſtances are aptly choſen,*
"*Two are as valid as two dozen.*"

I like the ſentiment, and ſhall, to ſave time, confine myſelf all through the firſt part of this work, to two facts only, in ſupport of each of my aſſertions.

General Richard Smith has been bred a ſoldier, ſay his detractors, and therefore he is by no means a proper Chairman for a Committee, who are inquiring

quiring into the fineneſs of a piece of Maulda muſlin, or the length, breadth, and Bengal price, of a piece of Luckeypore baffties.—This is mere cavilling, a perfect begging of the queſtion.—Trade is trade, no matter what the profeſſion. A man who has ſtudied one branch of commerce, may, with a little application, become acquainted with all. Genius ſtoops not to lines and rules, but boldly bounds over all. If a new plan was wanted for the government of the world, who would not apply to Mr. Edmund Burke to form it?—Yet that great genius hath racked his invention and mechanical abilities, to contrive a ſtate *ſaveall*, in which to catch the dripping in the royal kitchen!

The Gauls did not take the old and venerable conſcript fathers, whom they found ſitting in their robes in the ſenate houſe at Rome, for a parcel of cooks:—And yet, in a few centuries afterwards, an Epicurean Emperor ſent to aſk their opinion, as to the beſt ſauce for a turbot. It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that a man who has been deemed worthy of a ſeat in the Britiſh Senate, where the laws are made to govern this mercantile empire, can be deficient in any knowledge neceſſary to his ſtation. Mr. Wilkes, without having been bred to the law, ſaw the illegality of general warrants, and boldly withſtood them—And I am convinced that the ſame gentleman would, on a proper application being made

made to him, compoſe the beſt recipe in the kingdom, for making of craw-fiſh ſoup.—Why then may not the honourable General be equally capable to lead an army on to fame, or draw out a mercantile invoice? His ſplendid victories, whilſt in command of the Eaſt India Company's army at Bengal, will ſtrike the readers with aſtoniſhment, when Mr. Orme ſhall publiſh his continuation of military tranſactions in that kingdom. At preſent they are known to few, *very few indeed*; and therefore people ſhould not decide ſo peremtorily on matters, which, for the firſt of all reaſons, have yet been kept ſecret. As to his pretenſions to a knowledge in mercantile concernments, I ſhall prove that he was regularly initiated in them: for the reſt, every perſon knows that it depends on a man's own natural genius and application, from whence all our knowledge of every kind muſt ariſe. Citizen and ſoldier were, from the earlieſt times, deemed ſynonymous terms. It was ſo at Athens; it was ſo at Carthage; it was ſo at Rome. It is ſo in Switzerland; it is ſo in Holland; it is ſo in London. That Citizen in Engliſh, means legiſlator, ſoldier, and merchant, I will not go out of the kingdom in queſt of inſtances to prove the fact. See the ſame Alderman ſweating in a full bottom wig at Guildhall, regulating the price of bread, and weighing in the ſcales of juſtice pats of butter. Then attend him to the Royal Exchange, and to the Stock Exchange, and contemplate the wight,

whilſt

whilſt buſtling through the crowd at the firſt, and transferring millions of property at the laſt. In the cool of the evening, you have him again in the Artillery Ground, ſinking under the encumbrances of a full blown Major: And laſtly, follow him to the Manſion Houſe, where, bending half double under the fatigues of the day, he ſtands drawing on his glove, like our General of the Committee, with a lady at his ſide, boldly daring to open a ball, by exhibiting a minuet, which he never ſtudied until turned of thirty. There is no end of quoting inſtances to prove, that a man of genius, who ſtands well with himſelf, may, by proper application, become what he pleaſes. Had General Smith not been poſſeſſed of uncommon aptitude, and great reſolution, Mr. Burke could never have made an orator of him, nor Mr. Hart a minuet dancer.—But ſuch materials in the hands of ſuch artiſts, will form into any thing.

The birth and parentage of my hero is out of the queſtion. I am not now writing his life, but defending his abilities. If the Directors of the Eaſt India Company, the Members of their Board of Trade at Bengal, (ſome of whom have been in their ſervice thirty years, and all of them above twenty,) are not competent to the ordering and providing the proper inveſtment at Bengal for the Europe market, why truly I think Meſſrs. Smith and Burke as good hands as the nation can employ, to obtain a proper

aſſortment

ment of Aſiatic goods. If a man's abilities are to be known by a large ſtock of well choſen words, the laſt poſſeſſes as fine a collection as any man in being: and had the honourable General himſelf, not been poſſeſſed of great preſence of mind, or in the leaſt deficient in front, he would never have filled the chair of an Aſiatic inveſtigator, where peculation, mal-adminiſtration, unlicenſed monopoly, and impropriety of inveſtments, may chance to be fully diſcuſſed. If in one ſingle circumſtance or qualification, his defamers and enviers, could prove him unfit for the important chair that he now ſo honourably fills, ſome argument might enſue; but as matters are, I have only to confine myſelf to mere matters of fact, to prove all that will be neceſſary in this part of my vindication of his uncommon abilities.

The firſt eſſay of General Smith in the mercantile line, was in drawing up bills of parcels behind the counter, and cutting into ſcraps, and weighing out into decimal fractions, the fragments of a mangled cheeſe, to accommodate accidental cuſtomers, in his father's ſhop: but this plebian employment was too confined for his adventurous mercantile genius, and he boldly launched forth in a higher ſphere, and at once became the purſer's mate of an Eaſt India ſhip.

What

What a noble field for the improvement of natural genius, the above mentioned important employment of purſer's mate in an Eaſt Indiaman was in 1753, many men now alive remember, and no men better than the preſent honourable Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors. The Captains of the Company's ſhips in thoſe glorious and ever-to-be-lamented days, were the moſt univerſal merchants in the world. In artillery they dealt from a two-and forty pounder, to a child's popgun. In hardware, from an enormous ſpring to catch tigers, to a wire mouſe trap. In cutlery, from a ſemicircular ſcymetar that would have become the hand of Nadir Shaw, or Hyder Ally, to a concave pen-knife to cut corns. In the woollen manufactures of this country they traded (I do not ſay clandeſtinely) from immenſe bales of Britiſh broad cloth, to cuttings, purloined by taylors from the ſcarlet veſtments of their cuſtomers of both ſexes, and again ſtolen out of *hell* itſelf by their apprentice boys, and diſpoſed of to thoſe univerſal merchants. In nick-knack-a-ree their commerce was equally unbounded, as it extended from the gold baubles and other innumerable trinkets that hang pendant from a lady's watch, to a paper of minikin pins. In ſhort, there was nothing fabricated in this country, that would ſervethe purpoſes of our friends in the Eaſt Indies, that the captains of Europe ſhips did not in thoſe days deal in and export, from a ſceptre to grace the hand of a Mogul Emperor,

(for

(for we had not then diveſted them of ſuch royal ornaments) to a ſilver bodkin to decorate the hair of his Roxana or Statira. And it was the duty of Mr. *Smith*, and his ſuperior the *purſer*, to ſee the innumerable bills of parcels and invoices of this endleſs variety of great and ſmall merchandize, entered fairly into one book, and *foully* into another: for many merchants ſupply blank bills, to which prices, ſum totals, and names, are, in the courſe of the voyage, prefixed: nor is it uncommon for articles which coſt ſixpence in England, to ſtand rated in the bill or invoice book produced in India, at eighteen pence or two ſhillings.—Why not?—Madeira wine, and other articles, are ſuppoſed to ripen, and increaſe in their value, by being a long time confined in the warm hold of a ſhip; and why ſhould not hams, cheeſe, butter, ladies *commodities*, &c. &c. prove equally mellow from the ſame cauſe? At all events, no man will deny but that a perſon in the ſtation of purſer's mate, ſo fully and extenſively employed, has had a compleat initiation into the practical knowledge of our export articles of Aſiatic merchandize. To the opportunities the General has had to qualify himſelf to preſide in a Committee, where the inveſtment of a Bengal ſhip's homeward-bound cargo may come under debate, I ſhall ſpeak preſently. Here it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that at Madraſs, the General's ſpirit was rouſed to arms, by the ſound of the ear piercing fife, and ſoul ſtirring drum.

It

It had ſuch an effect on his feelings, that his former occupation was no more. From that moment, we muſt view him decoriſed (I fear that word is new) with ſword, laced coat, ſaſh, gorget, ſhoulder-knot, and all the ornaments of glorious war. In this line of life I ſhall not touch him, but leave his fame in the hands of his friend Mr. Orme. Whatever that hiſtorian, and collector of fragments, may ſay of the General's conduct as a military man, may be admitted for fact, as it is well known, that he had no predilection for that race of heroes, who, from mechanics, had become gentlemen.

When Mr. Orme held the office of export warehouſe-keeper to the Eaſt India Company at Madraſs, he was remarkable for keeping the young men in the ſervice, at a ſufficient diſtance. It happened that one Mr. Daviſon acted under him in his office, in whoſe blunt John Bull manners, there appeared ſomething odd and diverting. The former had condeſcended to invite the latter to breakfaſt with him, in the courſe of which, he aſked Daviſon of what profeſſion his father was? "A Sadler, Sir," replied the other. "A "Sadler!" repeated the hiſtorian, with ſome degree of ſurpriſe; "Why did he not breed you up "a Sadler?" "Why, Sir," ſays Daviſon, "I "was always a whimſical boy, and rather choſe

"to

" to try my fortune, as you have done, in the Eaſt " India Company's ſervice. But pray, Sir," continued he, " what profeſſion was your father of?" " My father, Sir," anſwered Mr. Orme ſharply, " was a Gentleman." " A Gentleman!—humph— " Pray, Sir, be ſo good as to inform me, why he " did not breed you up a Gentleman?" The retort is new and good, and I think worth preſerving.

That leviathan in literature, lexicon Johnſon, in his life of Prior, obſerves from Horace, that *the veſſel long retains the ſcent which it firſt receives.* In the midſt of high and important military occupations, General Smith ſhewed his ſkill in his firſt profeſſion of a merchant, and was deeply concerned in the monopoly of ſalt, of foreign cotton, and of China goods, at Bengal, when colonel of a brigade, and ſecond in command. Theſe facts are on record; former Committees have immortalized them: I fetcht not my inſtances from newſpapers and party pamphlets. Marlborough traded in ammunition, bread, and commiſſions; and Prince Eugene bought the whole contents of a Pedler's pack, deliverable at his quarters in the duſk of the evening by the man's *wife.* Hannibal bought, if he did not ſell, vinegar. And it muſt ſtrike every man of letters, how eaſily I could multiply my inſtances, if I had not confined myſelf to two or three in each caſe: though I cannot help obſerving, that it is far from being improbable, but

but that the great *Waſhington* himſelf may have a concern in the five hundred tons of fiſh oil, lately imported into the river Thames, under cover of thoſe outlandiſh phenomena, the *thirteen ſtripes*.

But my hero went further than all this. Some merchandize in which he had condeſcended to hold a concern, found its way into the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude's country, where an interloper, *one Bolts*, was detected pedling in the ſame articles. This was high treaſon againſt the grand monopolizers, and the culprit was tumbled neck-over-heels from Benares, on the banks of the Caramnaſſa, a branch of the river Ganges, to London, on the banks of the river Thames; where, it is true, ſome old faſhioned, worn-out prop of the law, who, like Lord Mansfield, thought that the liberty and property of a ſubject of theſe kingdoms, ſhould be inviolate and ſacred from pole to pole, ſet the matter to rights.

I have proved that Gen. Smith imbibed young, and in detail, this propenſity to commerce, that it grew with his growth, and ſtrengthened with his ſtrength, until one day at Brooke's a cruel ſpoiler came, cropped this fair roſe—Hold, this is mere quotation. The General came home a ſecond time, crowned with laurels, and loaded with wealth; not acquired as that *lying* and *malicious* hiſtorian Dow (or rather his embelliſher Mac Pherſon) relates,

relates, by ſending Nabobs to ſleep with their fa-thers, for no Nabob took a nap, as I remember, whilſt the General was at Bengal; and as for wars, maſſacres, murders, plunderings, mutilations, and famines, I do not recollect that any of the former took place whilſt the General was amongſt us; and for the two latter, that is the famine and mutilation, I can take my oath that the firſt came to paſs after he left Bengal, and the laſt was executed by one of his own family, and he generouſly forgave the culprit. It is therefore clear beyond controverſy, that the General acquired his opulent fortune from the perquiſites of office, emoluments of ſituation, and advantages in trade. How then can his enemies have the effrontery to ſay, that he is not qualified for the ſtation which he ſo ably fills? The mean inſinuation, that he was placed in the Committee's chair, on the principle of *ſet one to catch another*, is beneath refutation. As he carried his inclination to trade with him to India, at his firſt going abroad, ſo from long habit it ſtuck to him, and attended him home again: for ſoon after his laſt return (from the malice of his enemies no doubt) ſome informations were lodged againſt him, as having been concerned in the commerce of borough jobbing: being a reputed Nabob, and falling into the hands of an old faſhioned Engliſh judge, who will have it, that corrupting the morals of the people at large, is the ready way to unhinge our excellent conſtitution, ſent him to the

ſame

ſame college, where Johnny Wilkes had been ſent before him for writing bawdry; and the great patriots, and ſupporters of the liberty of the preſs, Bate, Jackman, Bew, and Miller, have been ſent ſince by the ſame hand, for what is denominated libelling. Precious times theſe, when a man muſt be a perfect Grandiſon, and not indulge himſelf in any of the faſhionable amuſements of the times, ſuch as bribery, ſeduction, ſwindling, blaſphemy, libelling, and ſuch trifles, without being in danger of a commitment to the King's Bench by Lord Mansfield!!! The abſtruſe and obſolete laws, which he takes ſo much pains to defend, are many of them older than himſelf, and his Lordſhip is no chicken. I believe from his anxiety to preſerve them inviolate, he is afraid he ſhall have to ſay, what a predeceſſor of his ſaid to Charles the II. 'That his Majeſty's return had prevented his out-'living the laws.' When his Lordſhip does go the way of all men, I hope his paſſage will be ſhort, eaſy, and pleaſant; and whether he baits on his way at the Elyſian fields, or in Paradiſe, I wiſh he may meet there the companions and cotemporaries of his younger days, the Popes, the Swifts, the Arbuthnots, and Gays; the Pitts, the Pelhams, the Hardwickes, the Bathurſts, the Barnards, and the Wyndhams. Such a group of patriots, poets, lawyers, and ſtateſmen, aſſembled together (all of whom I believe to have been good men and true) will create a heaven

any

any where. I too am verging that way, and now beſpeak his Lordſhip's intereſt to ſucceed to the firſt vacancy of porter, turnkey, or door-keeper, to ſuch a ſelect collection of real lovers of their country.

Hitherto I have confined my vindication of the General, to facts falling within my own knowledge, but cannot follow him into his commercial concerns, as they relate to his new trade of a patriot. I may, perhaps, *turn out* one myſelf, by and by, having the benefit of ſtudying in the college, where he himſelf took his degrees. But as the fortune he brought home from the eaſt, was ample, and, no doubt, *moſt honourably acquired*, I hope that it will wear well, and laſt him his life. For if I may judge from the preſent appearance and condition of ſome high bred patriots, who are lodged in cells round about me, it is but a poor trade.

Should I fail in this my attempt to prove, that the General, early in his youth, imbibed the true principles of mercantile polity, I ſhall be greatly diſappointed. Certain it is, the mind of man is not always open to conviction, from reaſon and from truth. To this ſtubborn ſcepticiſm of diſpoſition in mankind, we owe all the evils yet remaining in civil ſociety. If Engliſhmen would not be ſo teſty, opiniated, and unbelieving, in matters which

which ſo nearly concern them, but patiently ſubmit themſelves to be ruled and governed in all their political and commercial affairs, by ſuch ſuperior geniuſes as General Richard Smith, and his highly deſerving and *diſintereſted* friend, Mr. Edmund Burke, we ſhould ſoon become a great nation of very happy people. Their labours have been inceſſant, their productions and reports numerous and curious, and their intentions ſo palpably calculated for the public good, that it is wonderful that people will be ſo wilfully blind, as not to ſee them: but ſo it is; nor can I account for it, and therefore ſhall proceed with the ſame degree of temper and impartiality, to the vindication of the General, by quoting inſtances to prove my ſecond poſtulatum, viz. that General Richard Smith is not that haughty, iraſcible man, that the world in general have ſuppoſed him to be; quite the reverſe; no man ſo mild, ſo tractable, and ſo complaiſant as he is, *with proper management*. His haughty inſolence of manners, ſo much complained of, is only a compound of habit and inattention. Moſt of the ſuperior geniuſes who have appeared in the world, gave early inſtances of their growing greatneſs. Alexander, when a boy, would contend only with kings, and bravely vaulted on the back of a moſt unmanageable horſe, without bridle or ſaddle. Hughes nor Aſtley could have done no more. Sylla ſaw fifty Mariuſes in Julius Cæſar, when a mere ſtripling. And Turenne diſcovered in

the handſome Engliſh Captain Marlborough, the General who was born to humble the pride of Lewis the Fourteenth. General Richard Smith had ſcarcely left ſchool, when he felt his riſing ambition ſo to elevate his martial ſoul, as to look down with contempt on the narrow limits of a cheeſemonger's ſhop, and his cuſtom was to walk before the houſe backward and forward, regardleſs of the plebeian ſouls who came only for pennyworths of cheeſe.—Degrading occupation for a ſon of Mars to be chained down to! His indignant, ambitious ſoul, ſoared into the clouds in ſearch after fame; and in thoſe fits of contemplation, his habit was to paſs quick to and fro, ſwinging his body from ſide to ſide, biting his lip, and frowning contemptuouſly on all ſorts of paſſengers; inſomuch, that ignorant and ill natured people, who could not diſcover the future General in the cheeſemonger's boy, conceived his manners to proceed from pride, and his inſolence from ſelf approbation. Now if it is true, that "As the twig is bent, the tree's "inclin'd," the habits contracted in youth attend our riper years; and I appeal to all who know the General to determine, whether or not, his habitual manners, which grew out of his conſcious merit, when but a retailer of cheeſe, has not ever ſince invariably attended him, from the ſhop to the ſhip, to the camp, to Brooke's, to King's College in the Borough, to St. Stephen's Chapel, and into the Chair of the Committee; (and no man who knows him well, will

will deny the fact.) Is it not, therefore, very clear, that what people fancy to be inſolence, is nothing more nor leſs than a habit, contracted young, which has grown with his growth, and ſtrengthened with his ſtrength: and it is as reaſonable for mankind to expect, that an old oak, which has been growing crooked for ſixty years, ſhould at once lift its head, and ſtand upright, as that General Richard Smith ſhould ceaſe to frown, to look big, ſwing himſelf about, and treat *ſome people* with contempt, when I ſhall prove that it always has been his habit ſo to do, *to thoſe who were content to bear it.*

Man is a ſhort ſighted animal, and very apt to draw concluſions from external and ſuperficial appearances, without being at the trouble to look deep into things; and many men whom I know, and many more whom I do not know, have turned from the General with diſguſt, and to juſtify their own fears of a very *harmleſs and inoffenſive being*, have aſſerted that he was an imperious and very iraſcible man.—No ſuch matter:—he is as mild and tame as a new dropped lamb, to thoſe who know him well, as I ſhall make appear in two or three inſtances, which I hope will be deemed as valid as two thouſand.

Great men muſt keep their inferiors at a diſtance; all languages have proverbs expreſſive of ſuch neceſſity; and I have a right to treat any man with

contempt, who is content to be contemptuouſly treated.

" *A man's true merit 'tis not hard to find,*
" *But each man's ſecret ſtandard in his mind;*
" *That ſolid weight pride adds to emptineſs;*
" *This who can gratify, for who can gueſs?*"

No man underſtood this doctrine better than General Smith: with him every man was *a fellow*, who was content to be called ſo, or treated as ſuch.

When the General firſt left the occupation of purſer's mate, and became an enſign in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice at Madraſs, the Governor of the town had, in thoſe days, no particular officer, whoſe ſole duty it was to guard or attend about his perſon. The town or fort of Madraſs, was ſmall, and the government houſe was ſituated near the landing place, or water-gate; and it was the cuſtom for the officer on guard at the water-gate, on a ſtrange ſhip or veſſel coming into the road, not only to report the ſame to the Governor, but alſo when the maſter or commander came on ſhore, to go with him to the Chief. By this means the Governor received the firſt intelligence from abroad, and the captain of the veſſel found an eaſy and convenient introduction to the Governor of the garriſon. It happened that Enſign Smith was on duty at the water-gate, when

when a captain of a veſſel (no ſtranger at Madraſs) came into the court of guard, and deſired the ſerjeant in waiting, to inform the officer on duty, that he was come on ſhore. Enſign Richard Smith, either not dreſſed, or not at leiſure, called out loud enough to be heard, "Bid the *fellow* to wait: I am "not ready to go with him to the Governor." The captain, who was a true born ſon of Neptune, bluntly anſwered, "Tell the *puppy* that I will not "wait. I know the Governor, and the way to "him, as well as he does;" and ſo proceeded by himſelf.

In thoſe days, when our Governors were alſo merchants, it was uſual for them to aſk the captains of the country ſhips to dine with them, on the firſt day of their coming on ſhore, and very common for the chief and captain to ſtrike a bargain for the cargo, over a cheerful bottle after dinner, or before they parted. The enſign on duty at the water-gate, had alſo a plate at the bottom of the table, where he officiated in the various capacities of taſter, officer, carver, and chaplain, (formerly military men could ſay grace.) Enſign Smith but ill brooked the ſeaman's retort valiant, and had, in the guard room, after the captain was gone, thrown out ſome indignant threats, expreſſive of his diſpleaſure. The Governor ſat late at the council board, and the enſign found the *fellow* walking in the hall, and a moſt confounded

ſour

ſour looking athletic *fellow* he was. Our future General had ſenſe enough to reconnoitre the man, who, under the outſide cover of rough unpoliſhed manners, poſſeſſed a generous mind and good heart, equally ready to ſhake hands and be friends, or cuff it out. "I am ſorry, Sir," ſays the enſign, "that I was not ready to attend you on your firſt "landing, to the Governor." "I wiſh you had "ſaid half ſo much in the morning, Sir," ſaid the other, "we ſhould not now have had to apologize "to one another for what is paſt. Zounds! I is "no ſtranger here, man. I knows his honour, and "the way to him, as well as any he in Madraſs. "But come, let us drink a glaſs to his health;" and ſo the matter ended. Was not this manly in the General, was it not great? Does ſuch conduct mark a man for vindictive arrogance, or haughtineſs of diſpoſition?

It once happened that the preſent Sir William Draper had the command of the parade at Madraſs, when our hero, then a captain, having ſome buſineſs with him, and being loſt in his habitual contemplation of ſelf importance, walked up to the colonel, without obſerving the ceremony of touching his hat. This the commanding officer rectified by ſtriking it off his head. Here again Mr. Smith's good ſenſe relieved him; for after grumbling a little, frowning, and ſwinging about his perſon, he came cooly to himſelf as before. Can any proof be more ſtrong then, that when General Smith is reminded

reminded of his habitual inattention, that he immediately rectifies it?

When the General was in command of the army at Bengal, his lofty ſoul diſdaining command from a mere mercantile Governor, he wrote to his ſuperior a very extraordinary letter. You muſt obſerve, that at the time of his writing it, he was at the diſtance of five hundred miles from the Governor: but as he ſoon after came down to the preſidency, the Governor, before he would ſee him, ſent a *rough hand*, one of his aid-du-camps, who well knew how to deliver a meſſage in plain Engliſh, and in proper terms to ſuch a man, moſt candidly, and in few words, told the General, that he muſt inſtantly recall that paper, (ſhewing at the ſame time, the General's letter to the Governor,) or he had another meſſage to deliver not quite ſo pleaſing. The General took the aid-du camp's advice; the letter was recalled, and the matter, like the two former, was forgotten.

Here are three inſtances, ſelected from a hundred which I could introduce, to prove how much mankind are miſtaken in the true character of Gen. Richard Smith; the firſt verbal, the ſecond ſilent, and the third written. If, after this, people are ſo obſtinate as not to admit, that General Smith, *properly dealt with*, is not a very docile and manageable gentleman, why I have done with them.

I have

I hope to draw ſome credit to myſelf, for thus voluntarily entering the liſts unſought, and, I believe, unlooked for, by the General, in vindication of his character, againſt evil minded men. I am not at all concerned as to the manner how the General may take this ſhew of kindneſs in me; a generous act is a ſpecies of virtue, and carries with it its own reward.

Having paved the way in this my firſt part, for an immediate entrance into my ſecond, by having proved that the Chairman of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, now employed on Aſiatic mercantile affairs, is fully equal to the taſk they have in hand, I ſhall, after a ſlight deduction of hiſtorical facts, introduce the hints promiſed in my title page;

PART II.

BEFORE the capture of Conſtantinople by the Turks, in the middle of the fifteenth century, general commerce was little known, and leſs underſtood, in Europe. Venice, in Italy, had indeed riſen into ſome degree of notice, from a concurrence of accidental circumſtances, and her fortunate ſituation. The new, or weſtern world, had not then been diſcovered: nor had the paſſage into Aſia, by the Cape of Good Hope, yet been effected.

Her

Her inſular ſituation at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and on the confines, as it were, of both diviſions of the Roman empire, enabled her to give protection to the perſecuted merchants, from the ſea coaſts of Greece, from Conſtantinople, and from Rome, when thoſe rival capitals were ravaged and laid waſte, by the barbarians from the north.

So circumſtanced, ſhe drew to herſelf, moſt of the trade of the ſea coaſts of the Mediterranean, as well as that which was carried on by Alexandria and Suez, on the Red Sea, to and from India, and for a time, flouriſhed more from the extreme ignorance and indolence of her neighbouring ſtates, than from any internal mercantile reſources of her own.

Moſt of the great ſtates, which now take the lead in the affairs of Europe, had been formed before this period, but were cruelly embarraſſed by the imperfect forms of the feudal ſyſtem of government, from which defect, they underwent violent, and almoſt perpetual convulſions, that in their conſequences, drove them back into anarchy, confuſion, and barbariſm, and left them little or no time, to conſult and woo the genius of commerce; inſomuch, that the mercantile concerns of moſt of the European ſtates, whoſe ſhores are waſhed by the Atlantic Ocean, the Britiſh Channel,

Channel, and North Sea, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the head of the Baltic, was carried on by a number of cities under the denomination of the Hanſatic league, which, from their disjunctive and unconnected ſituations, could direct the commercial affairs of great ſtates, no longer than until ſuch ſtates had the neceſſary reſpite from civil diſcord, and internal convulſion, to enable them to conſult their true mercantile intereſts, independent of all foreign contingencies.

Our Henry VII. the firſt Prince of the Tudor line, perhaps ought to have the credit of diſcovering, that to divide property, and encourage foreign commerce, would be the ready means to draw off and find employment for the martial and reſtleſs ſpirits, who conſtantly grew up under the feudul ſyſtem of government; (for I cannot think that ſuch a wretched miſer had the good of mankind in view, in any undertaking of his; as to that vice we owe his rejection of Columbus's plan, offered by his brother to that ſelfiſh Prince, for diſcovering of the new world.) The old reſource formerly practiſed by the Plantaganet Princes, of leading them off the Iſland by thouſands, to have them knocked on the head on the continent of Europe, or to the Holy Land, was growing obſolete and out of faſhion. We had loſt almoſt all our poſſeſſions in France; and the nation was growing tired of the bigotted and ſuperſtitious ſyſtem, of maintaining

maintaining one half of the nation from the labour of the other, under the various and endleſs diſtinctions and denominations, of monks, friars, nuns, lay brothers, &c. &c.

Towards the end of this century, ſome very noble diſcoveries were made: the art of printing revived a ſpirit for literature, which forming a confederacy with other arts and ſciences, paved the way for expelling tyranny and ſuperſtition, and eſtabliſhing liberty and commerce. Yet their advances were but ſlow. The nation had religious and civil habits of long ſtanding, to conquer; and Henry VIII. poſſeſſed more vices and (avarice excepted) fewer virtues than his father. In the former reign, the ſpirit and power of the nobles had been broken and reduced, but in this it was totally annihilated, and nothing was ſubſtituted in its ſtead by that bloody and beaſtly tyrant. He did little for commerce, and went no further in the reformation, than ſuited his own ſelfiſh purpoſes. His ſon was too young, and his life too ſhort, to mark the æra of his reign; and Mary ſunk us back into the ſhades of night, in whoſe bloody reign, the tyranny of the father was exceeded by the furious bigotry of the daughter: no ray of light was ſeen, but ſuch as emitted from the fires kindled all over the kingdom, by the violence of ſuperſtition. She was ſucceeded by Elizabeth, the glory of the Engliſh name, in whoſe wiſe

wiſe government much was done, and much more left undone. She was a friend to learning and commerce, and underſtood better than any of her cotemporary Princes, the true uſe of both; and but for ſome tyrannic traits in her character, which too ſtrongly marked the loins from whence ſhe ſprung, I ſhould have hoped that ſhe had been a baſtard, and not of the Houſe of Tudor. None of her predeceſſors had fewer vices, nor any of her ſucceſſors more virtues. Her faults were the foibles of her ſex. The woman's weakneſs ſometimes appeared; but ſhe lived and died a great and glorious Princeſs; to whoſe conſummate wiſdom, and inimitable abilities, the nation owed the formation of its character, and almoſt the whole of its mercantile ſpirit of adventure, which has ſince raiſed it to ſo great a degree of power and grandeur.

Spain never has been a great mercantile ſtate. The Princes and potentates on the ſouthern parts of the continent of Europe, whoſe ſeveral dominions were formed from ſcraps and fragments of the Roman ſtate, and whoſe ſubjects had imbibed the cuſtoms and manners of their conquerors, the Goths, Viſi-Goths, the Huns, and the Vandals, for a long courſe of ages, ſuffered all the horrors of that worſt of tyrannies, the feudal ſyſtem of government. Their youth and prime of manhood, was ſpent in deviſing means to lay waſte the

territories

territories of their neighbours, and to deſtroy their fellow creatures; and their decline of life, in praying forgiveneſs for their enormities, at the ſhrines of ſaints and tombs of martyrs. At length the Houſe of Auſtria had, by intrigues, wars, marriages, and treaties, acquired very extenſive dominions on the continent, and formed a powerful ſtate, when, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the great Columbus added, by his diſcoveries, a new world to their dominions. This had no other effect than to raiſe in the minds of the Princes of that houſe, the idea of univerſal monarchy. The money imported from the new world, enabled them to put arms into the hands of half Europe, in order to cut the throats of the other half; and this vile project they carried on for near a hundred years, when the revolt of the States of Holland, and the deſtruction of their grand armada, towards the end of the ſixteenth century, reduced their overgrown power within proper bounds. Their greatneſs may be ſaid to have been long ſupported by the art of navigation, but never by the true and genuine efforts of commerce; for they never did, nor do they now, well underſtand it. In their proſperity, and ſince their decline, England and France have been their manufacturers, and the ſmall States of Italy, and Republic of Holland, their marine carriers.

Portugal ſtarted up at the ſame time, as it were, from nothing, and by the diſcovery of the paſſage by ſea to India, became great conquerors of ignorant, unarmed, and undiſciplined nations, and for a while, made a noiſe in the world, becauſe ſhe had no rivals; but not having the fundamentals of commerce in her own bowels, no ſooner had the Dutch emancipated themſelves from the yoke of Spain, and England recovered from her internal convulſions, and eſtabliſhed her civil, religious, and mercantile liberty, but Portugal ſunk again into her original nothingneſs. This brings us down to the end of the ſeventeenth century; from which period, to the preſent time, Spain and Portugal may be ſaid to have wrought their mines, to keep the mills, the forges, the ploughs, the looms, and the tonnage, of France and England, in active and perpetual motion.

As to the Dutch, neceſſity, and not happineſs of ſituation, extent of dominion, or internal reſources, firſt made fiſhermen of them, and then carriers to other nations. Merchants they have never been, but merely monopolizers of the home fiſhery, and the Aſiatic ſpices. They felt and reſiſted the tyranny of Spain at a fortunate moment. The minds of other Europeans, as well as their own, had but juſt emerged from religious and civil ſlavery; nor had the wounds cauſed by the feudal ſyſtem of government, been long enough healed,

healed, by the leſs odious form of deſpotiſm eſtabliſhed on the continent in a ſingle perſon, nor the latter had time to mature itſelf, ſo as to give form and life to the true ſpirit of internal and external commerce, the Dutch found that ſupplying the Catholic countries with fiſh, was all their own, and this led to the diſcovery, that a ſpirit of commerce was faſt riſing in all the ſtates on the continent of Europe, from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea incluſive, that each nation was in want of ſomething manufactured or cultivated in the others, and they wiſely undertook to be the goers between, and become the carriers of the whole. This cauſed ſuch a flow of wealth, of people, and of every article neceſſary for navigation and ſhip building, into their almoſt ſelf-created country, that in a very few years, they aſtoniſhed mankind with the greateſt number of well built merchant ſhips, and armed fleets of men of war, that the world had hitherto known, owing entirely to the lucky circumſtance of the times, which in a few years, carried them by a career of uncommon ſucceſs to their meridian ſplendor; but it could not laſt; the reſources of all this opulence and grandeur, lay not in themſelves, in their form of government, in their ſituation, or internal reſources, but were entirely owing to the inattention of their leſs active, but more powerful neighbours, France and England: Theſe two powers had, from various cauſes, been more ſlow and negligent in puſhing forward their

mercantile

cantile intereſts; not from ſupineneſs, but from not having the ſame ſpur of neceſſity to impel them forward into action, which the Dutch had. The glorious ſtruggle made by the Republic in the days of Cromwell and Charles II. in diſputing with the Engliſh the dominion of the narrow ſeas, rouſed that nation into action: and the efforts made in the middle period of the reign of Lewis XIV. to eſtabliſh a maritime force, gave the ſame ſpring of action to the French nation. From the Dutch naval war of 1672, I date the commencement of the decline of the Dutch power. It has been gradually falling ever ſince; not from any defect in their form of government, or the miſmanagement of their governors, but from the inevitable effects of natural cauſes. Almoſt all Europe, in times of peace, carry on their own ſhare of commerce in their own bottoms. England, France, and America, fiſh not only for themſelves, but ſupply all other parts of Europe with that article, as alſo ſuch others as are manufactured in their own kingdoms. The Dutch trade to the Eaſt Indies has fallen much to decay. Their monopoly of ſpices, and the teas which, by ſome defect in our general police, they ſmuggle in upon us, are the only branches of trade they have left to that quarter of the world, a little Java ſugar excepted. Their colonies and ſettlements in the Weſt Indies, and on the coaſt of Africa, are ſupplied with more of the manufactures of France and England, than of their own

provinces.

The contemptible figure which they lately made in the war with England, ſhews very plainly, that the power of a ſtate may be almoſt annihilated, yet the ſpirit of the people remain; for as individuals, they behaved with their wonted courage: nor will it be thought preſumptuous in me to predict, that from the above cauſes, another century (ſhould they ſo long continue to exiſt, in ſpite of their own internal commotions, and the ambitious views of their more powerful neighbours) will reduce them to their primitive ſtate of milk wives and fiſhermen as individuals, and into the poor diſtreſſed States of Holland as a nation. Whilſt the ſurrounding powers of Europe continued employed in ſubduing the haughty ſpirit imbibed by their nobility from the nature of the feudal ſyſtem of government, or in their more pernicious wars and maſſacres, in order to reduce the minds of their ſubjects, to the confined and limited ideas of Roman ſuperſtition, under the denomination of the true Catholic religion, the Dutch government took advantage of their egregious folly and religious frenzy, and ſupplied them with fiſh, tonnage, and manufactures. Spain has not yet recovered from the injury done her from the expulſion of the Moors; and France feels to this hour, the baneful effects of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. What the great Henry IV. in his wiſdom enacted, the cowardly ſuperſtition of Lewis XIV. in his vanity, or in his dotage, injudiciouſly did away.

The induſtry and parſimony of the lower orders of the people in Holland, may be ſaid at preſent to prop their declining country; and a ſucceſſion of De Witts', if they were to be had, might enable the States to figure a campaign or two more, in ſome future war, or wars, by drawing out the latent powers of the ſtate, and cauſe them to fall glorioufly in the laſt dike; but fall they muſt, whenever the great neighbouring ſtates ſhall have ſettled among themſelves, how, and in what manner, to divide their ſpoil. They roſe ſuddenly into power, and blazed like a meteor for a time, from the cauſes above alluded to; thoſe cauſes time has removed, and the effects of courſe muſt ceaſe. If the fury of their party zealots, would permit them to ſee their true intereſts, they ſhould connect themſelves cloſer than ever with Great Britain, in all her future offenſive or defenſive meaſures. Or perhaps their period of exiſtence, as an independent people, might be prolonged by creating the Prince of Orange King of Holland. However they may determine, their ſun of glory, as a powerful mercantile ſtate, has long ſince been ſet for ever.

I have not ſearched into the dark and confuſed accounts of antient commercial kingdoms or republics, to find the cauſes of their riſe into, or fall from power. It would be to burleſque the ſubject, to attempt to deſcribe the maritime power of the Perſians

Perſians and the Grecians, of the Romans and the Carthagenians; the whole of their naval wars were confined to the ſtraits, creeks, bays, havens, roads, and harbours, of the ſtill water, in the Mediterranean and Euxine, or Black, Seas. Six frigates of modern conſtruction, would have deſtroyed the united fleets of the four above mentioned powers. Carthage, like Venice or Holland, flouriſhed for a time, as a maritime power; but we are not ſufficiently acquainted with their particular and internal hiſtory, code of juriſprudence, or commercial policy, to judge of her national mercantile reſources.

The kingdoms of France and of England, are the only two mighty powers that have yet appeared on the ſtage of the world, who have poſſeſſed within their own immediate domains, independent of accidental and external cauſes, the means of raiſing, by ſlow, ſure, and imperceptible degrees, a permanent and powerful naval force, which has reſiſted, and will continue to reſiſt, the efforts of time itſelf, and is ſubject only to the bloody conflicts, and frequent ruinous wars, which the jealouſy of each others power have for ages paſt, and will for ages to come, in all human probability involve them. Theſe powerful and jealous neighbouring nations, have taken the lead in the affairs of Europe, for more than a century paſt; and it is aſtoniſhing to think, what ſeas of blood, and mountains of trea-

ſure, have been waſted on both ſides, each with a view of reducing the power, and humbling the pride, of its rival. But it is yet more aſtoniſhing to conſider, that theſe frequently repeated and dreadful ſtruggles, inſtead of deſtroying one or both of the combatants, or ſo weakening of them, that advantage ſhould be taken of their debility, to wrench from them ſome of their dominions by other neighbouring ſtates, they have conſtantly returned to the charge, after a very few years reſpite, more vigorous and powerful than before. Nor have their violent and wonderful exertions, to pull down and deſtroy one another, had any effect on the face of affairs in Europe; for a very few and trifling changes excepted, the maritime powers on the continent, remain preciſely in the ſame ſituation, as to extent of dominion, and degree of credit and eſtimation, in the ſcale of European politics, which they did almoſt a century ago. The affairs of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Poland, very little influence the conteſts of France and England. Politicians will tell you, that the balance of power eſtabliſhed on the continent of Europe, is the cauſe of this equality between theſe famous kingdoms; and yet ſince the commencement of this century, moſt of the great landed powers on the continent, have joined in a confederacy, in order to cruſh France; and in the late war, the maritime ſtates did the ſame to ruin England. In the firſt, France had very little aſſiſtance from her allies: In the laſt,

England

England had neither allies nor friends; and beſides, had a full fourth of her own ſubjects joined with her enemies againſt her. France eſcaped unruined from the firſt confederacy, and England from the laſt. She has laid down her arms; not as a bankrupt nation, but with more real credit at command, than all Europe beſide. The total diſmemberment of America from her dominion, has been certain in the opinion of all Europe, ever ſince the capture of the army at York Town: And the accounts of her wars in Aſia, have not been very favourable for the laſt eight months of the year 1782. Notwithſtanding all this, and that every power in Europe, well knows that when the war accounts come to be wound up, ſhe will have to provide for the intereſt of two hundred and forty millions of pounds ſterling of funded debt, at an average of nearly four per cent. per annum, excluſive of her annual expences of government, or peace eſtabliſhment, yet her credit remains ſo great, that the monied people all over the continent of Europe, are buying into her ſtocks, in which the 3 per cent. conſolidated ſtock hath, in the courſe of two months, riſen from fifty-five to ſixty-eight pounds in their marketable value; and there are gentlemen now in Holland, who give it as their opinion (ſo eager are the rich people of that country to lodge their property in the Engliſh funds) that in one year's time after a peace, the above mentioned 3 per cent. fund, will be up

at

at ſeventy-five on the Exchange of Amſterdam. All this is wonderfully ſurpriſing, and what even twenty years ago, would have been thought impoſſible. I ſhall ſay nothing as to what further amount ſuch a nation as this may, with impunity, contract debts, which, from the nature of their formation, and the inability of the ſtate to cancel its obligations, muſt become eternal. Commerce is a vaſt myſtery, and credit a greater; yet in England they muſt have had very ſound conſtitutions, or they would long ſince have fallen to decay. It is part of my plan to prove, that they are at this juncture, ſound, healthy, and well, and in no danger of immediate injury, but ſtand on a foundation of adamant, and are likely to continue firm and permanent, for ages yet to come.

A very worthy friend of mine, who has employed too much of his time in poring over the works of ſuch deſponding calculators as Dr. Price, the Earl of Stair, &c. gave it to me as his opinion, that at the end of the war, cloſe how it might, the intereſt on the national funds, muſt, at one daſh, be reduced a full half; and that life annuities, for one, or at moſt two lives, muſt be granted even for the remaining half, which, from ſome of them ſoon falling in, the ſtate would be in power to take the taxes from coals, leather, beer, ſoap, and other neceſſaries of life, and thereby enable our manufacturers to work cheaper, and go to market with their

their goods on a par with their neighbours, and in the courſe of forty or fifty years, rid us of our national debt intirely: That ſuch deciſive meaſures alone, could ſave us from total ruin, &c. I had but one objection to his plan, and that was, that by the time we ſhould ſo happily get rid of our national encumbrances, we ſhould alſo have got rid of a full half of our people, two thirds of our manufacturers, and our whole power as a ſtate; that our merchants would be all bankrupts, the greater part of our lands would lay waſte and uncultivated, our lords would become farmers, our farmers beggars, and the preſent race of poor have been all ſtarved. People who think ſo differently in political economy, ſeldom join iſſue. If I cannot, by a ſhort deduction of facts, eſtabliſh my hypotheſis, why I will then go over to that of my friend; and I am ſure it will make him very happy, if I can ſhew good cauſe for his coming over to mine.

After the ſeat of empire was removed by Conſtantine, from Rome to Conſtantinople, in the fourth century, Europe ſunk faſt into a ſtate of darkneſs, ſuperſtition, and barbariſm, on which it is dreadful even at this time to reflect, or caſt back the minds eye. God ſaid in chaos, let there be light, and there was light; but the wickedneſs of man was become ſo enormous, that he withdrew his preſence, and ſuffered them even under the goſpel diſpenſation, to become more furious than wild

beaſts

beaſts of the foreſts, and worry and deſtroy one another with leſs compunction of remorſe, and that for near a thouſand years together. No part of the then inhabited Chriſtian world, whether in Europe, Aſia Minor, or in Africa, eſcaped the infernal and tyrannic ſcourge. From Norway to Niſibis in Meſopotamia, and from mount Atlas in Africa, to the wilds of Dacia, the Goths, Viſi-Goths, Huns, and Vandals, were to the Aborigines on the continent, what the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, were to the inhabitants of Great Britain. But dreadful as their ravages and devaſtations were, in time they ſubſided, and by degrees, order was reſtored. It was ſomething ſingular, that in every ſtate which they formed out of the ruined fragments of the weſtern part of the Roman empire, the Chriſtian religion, and feudal ſyſtem of government, were eſtabliſhed. At the time when France and England are firſt obſerved to emerge from the dark obſcurity of the middle ages, we find them profeſſing the ſame religion, and ſubject to the ſame forms of government. Thoſe who wiſh to know by what ſingular accidents, two neighbouring nations, who, in their nonage, were regulated and governed on principles exactly ſimilar, both religious and civil, in courſe of time came to fix and eſtabliſh, on foundations permenent and ſolid, the firſt an abſolute monarchy, where the will of one man is the law of the land, and commands the perſons and

property

property of every individual in it, and the other a mixed government, where the moſt pure and perfect code of equal laws, and free conſtitution of government, are enacted, under the adminiſtration of which, *dukes* and their *poſtillions*, are equally protected in their perſons and properties, I muſt refer them to a book, entitled the Conſtitution of England, written by J. L. de Lolme, advocate and citizen of Geneva; a work that no Engliſhman, who values his liberty, and reveres the conſtitution of his country, ſhould omit to read.

When laymen, like Lord George Gordon, are for correcting and mending our religious code, and prieſts, ſuch as Mr. Wyvill, quit their own line of duty, and become ſtate tinkers, ſomething muſt be wrong. Have we not had lopping enough? A third of the empire has been cut off at one ſtroke, and with it, I ſhould ſuppoſe, one third part of the ſo much dreaded influence of the crown. If more lopping is neceſſary, let all Canada go. For my part, I hope not to live ſo long as to ſee the old trunk cut and mangled; it has ſtood the ſtorm of ages, and amputation, however well intended, may cauſe its death. If we could *lop* ſome of our pretended patriots, it might be of ſervice. As to lopping off boroughs, it would be a dangerous experiment, and in its conſequences, lead to the deſtruction of the conſtitution. Should the ſpirit for emancipation and innovation,

innovation, operate ſo far as to induce a bill for ſuch purpoſe, to paſs the Houſe of Commons, and the Lords continue to doſe over ſuch dangerous attempts, I have great confidence in the Crown, or executive power. The negative has, in ſome caſes, ſlept too long; it will, I hope, be brought forward in time, to ſave us from our dreadful infatuation.

I ſhall think it matter of curious ſpeculation, to obſerve the *blow-hot* and *blow-cold* of ſome of our modern patriots. They will ſupport one bill to disfranchiſe the rotten boroughs (as they call them,) in order to leſſen the influence of the crown, and at the ſame time, another to disfranchiſe the Eaſt India Company, to ſtrengthen the hands of miniſters. This will be chopping logick in action, as well as in words. In the conduct of their own private affairs, and in every common occurrence of life, no body of men in the world, ſhew greater ſagacity, or manifeſt ſo ample a ſhare of ſound common ſenſe, as the country gentlemen and yeomanry of England. But there is ſome witchcraft in oratory, which ſo benumbs their faculties, that a ſilver tongued declaimer, by a ſmooth and muſical arrangement of his well choſen words, who poſſeſſes not a foot of land in the kingdom, nor three hundred pounds a year in the world, ſhall induce them to vote that the conſtitution is ſo much out of order, that nothing but a ſtrong doſe of poiſon can ſave it from dying.

The

The complexion of the times furniſhes a noble opportunity for Mr. *Edmund Burke* to prove himſelf a true and genuine patriot. At Briſtol, he acquired a complete knowledge of our Weſt India commerce. As a member of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, where, for two years together, he has been ranſacking and poring over the Eaſt India Company's records, he muſt have acquired equal knowledge in the trade to Aſia. His couſin, whom, during his ſhort ſtay in office, he contrived to have created Paymaſter of the King's forces in India, and fixed Ambaſſador (from God knows who) at the court of the Rajah of Tanjore, has no doubt furniſhed him with much important information. Now as the Iriſh may trade where and how they pleaſe, independent of this country, as well as the Americans, it would be but kind in that honourable gentleman, to ſet off for Dublin, with his acquired knowledge on one ſhoulder, and his *little bundle of virtues* on the other, and uſe his eloquence to perſuade his countrymen to eſtabliſh at Cork, Dublin, and Kingſale, Eaſt India, Weſt India, and American Companies, or, to ſpeak in popular phraſe, commercial aſſociations. Surely ſince all the world have ſhaken us off, we have patriots enough of our own national breed, to conduct our much curtailed political and mercantile affairs. Was I an Engliſh patriot, I would move the Houſe to expel all aliens and interlopers of the patriotic tribe. As matters

are, I ſee not why Doctor Franklin, or Preſident Laurens, may not become Members of the Houſe of Commons, as well as Mr. Edmund Burke.—Their Engliſh landed property, I believe, may be found, on enquiry, to lye in the ſame county. I ſhould be highly diverted to be preſent in the gallery of the Houſe, whilſt that northern patriot, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, was perſuading the Engliſh gentlemen, that an Iriſhman was a true born Engliſhman, and an American not ſo. Since the late peace has reduced to waſte paper, all our laws and regulations which have paſſed, relative to the commerce of the weſtern world, ſince the reign of Elizabeth, it will furniſh fine food for the lawyers, to prove which is the ſtraight, and which the crooked line of commerce; and to which ſtate a loyal American, born before the peace, owes allegiance——But to return.

The dark cloud drawn over the human mind by the Catholic ſuperſtition, and the violent convulſions cauſed throughout all the continent of Europe, by the feudal ſyſtem of government, had operated equally ſtrong in the Britiſh Iſlands. Imperial Rome, who, in the days of the Republic, and during the tyranny of her own Cæſars, had known nothing of either, came at laſt to dictate in both. The eagle, grown blind with age, could ſoar no longer; and the ſtandard in which it was diſplayed, was torn down and deſtroyed with impunity,

punity, by the northern and eaſtern barbarians; who, in their turn, ſubdued by church policy, bowed their necks to the figure of the croſs; under which ſtandard the Roman Pontiffs governed mankind more imperiouſly, from the Baltic to the Caſpian Sea, without a ſingle legion to ſupport them, than the ſenate, the conſuls, the dictators, and the Emperors, had heretofore done with forty. The human mind once ſubdued, the body becomes a lump of paſſive and ſlaviſh matter. Nothing but the moſt bigotted ſuperſtition, could have reduced the deſcendants of the old Greeks, to neck bowing Mahometans, nor thoſe of Republican Rome, to ſqueaking fidling Italians.

France and England both, long ſtruggled in their chains, unknowing of their real ſtrength. Our Henry VII. had divided the property of the nobles, by a kind of Egrarian law; and his ſon, from his imperious diſpoſition, ſubdued their martial ſpirit entirely; denied the Pope's ſupremacy, and plundered the church; and thus did two Princes, unknowing of what they were about, or caring for the conſequences of their actions, further than as they ſquared with their own vile paſſions of avarice and luſt, break the chains of civil and religious tyranny. But the Commons of England, unconſcious of their emancipation, continued very ſubſervient to the mandates of the court, both in religious and civil affairs, during the reigns of the remaining Princes of the Houſe of Tudor. Freedom of ſpeech

was denied them by the imperious Elizabeth, who, notwithſtanding her great and motherly affection for her ſubjects, guarded, with the jealouſy of a woman, the overgrown prerogatives of the crown, by thoſe mortal enemies of civil liberty, the high commiſſion court and ſtar chamber. This princely tenacity in favour of the almoſt unbounded power of the crown, in ſuch able hands as hers, was, in thoſe days, hardly felt by the Commons, who had but juſt been freed from the tyranny of the church, and the weight of an imperious ariſtocracy. To the genius of this wonderful woman, we owe the firſt attempts at general navigation, univerſal commerce, and the eſtabliſhment of naval power. To her we owe the compleat diſperſion of the miſt of ſuperſtition from the minds of the people at large: Though deſcended from tyrants, and herſelf by nature a tyrant, ſhe rouſed the nation to a ſenſe of their own power and dignity, and implanted in their minds, a real love of religious and civil liberty; the true ſpirit for agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, which, notwithſtanding that ſhe was ſucceeded by a pedant, an hypocrite, a libertine, and an enthuſiaſt, (who were like her in nothing but an unbounded ambition of governing arbitrarily, which they had not the abilities to effect,) bore down every thing before them, and by the revolution at the end of the ſeventeenth century, eſtabliſhed a freedom of perſon and of property, of thinking

and

and of acting, which alone could have prepared the nation for a fair exertion of thoſe latent powers, which this kingdom had always poſſeſſed, but never before had the opportunity to diſplay.

France was bleſſed with an Henry IV. at the ſame period of time, in which this country enjoyed the wiſe government of Elizabeth. A Duke de Sully, ſupported by ſuch a maſter, ſhewed what France was capable of performing; and a regular ſucceſſion of great miniſters, ſuch as Richlieu, Mazarine, Colbert, &c. abetted in their politics, by the great ſpirit and character of Lewis XIV. eſtabliſhed the French monarchy on ſo deſpotic a foundation, as not to be eaſily ſhaken. Towards the end of the ſeventeenth century, theſe rival nations had become the principal powers on the ſtage of Europe; ſince which period to the preſent time 1783, they have waged five deſperate, bloody, and expenſive wars, in all parts of the world; whoſe duration united, amounts to near forty years of the time; in which, perhaps, it is a moderate computation, to ſuppoſe that a thouſand millions of money have been ſpent, and three millions of men, capable to bear arms, have been deſtroyed by land and by ſea, on both ſides, in conſequence of thoſe furious and dreadful ſtruggles for pre-eminence of power.

Neither

Neither of theſe contending nations poſſeſs mines of ſilver or of gold, to enable them to ſupport ſuch aſtoniſhing efforts: nor have either, at the end of any one of thoſe bloody wars, ſo reduced the other, as to leave them without hopes of recovering their ſtrength in a few years, ſo as to enable them to try the fortue of war over again. Both have frequently ſung *Te deum*, and both ſeverely ſmarted for their apparent victories. In the courſe of ninety-five years, which have elapſed ſince the revolution in England, to the late peace of Paris, France has been obliged to make very humiliating conceſſions; firſt at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713; and again at that of Paris, in 1763: And England has equally ſtooped to receive the law in her turn, at the hands of her adverſary; once at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; and lately at the peace of Paris, in 1783. Both declare in the moſt poſitive manner, to the other powers in Europe, that it is the love of peace which has induced them to lay down their arms, and accept of terms ſo moderate. The ſubjects of both complain equally loud againſt the great ruin that the war has brought upon them, and as vehemently exclaim againſt the conditions of the peace. But there is nothing of which the European world is more poſitively and certainly convinced, than that thoſe two mighty nations, who have for a century paſt, taken every opportunity to worry and diſtreſs each other, and who, at this moment of time, jointly

jointly owe more money, than is now in circulation on the face of the earth. Yet were they, inſtead of laying down their arms, to unite their forces, and declare war againſt all Chriſtian Europe, ſuch is their preſent power, and ſuch their remaining reſources to ſupport it, that in all human probability, the ſeveral powers would be obliged to ſue to them for a ſeparate peace on their own terms. How the foundations have been laid, on which this wonderful influence has grown up to its preſent degree of ſurpriſing magnitude, with the probability of its continuation and increaſe, both in France and England, I will endeavour to explain in the following pages.

PART III.

FRANCE, conſidering the vaſt extent of its dominions, is the moſt compact, and, in point of climate, one of the beſt ſituated countries on the face of the earth. In no part of it do the natives ſuffer much from the intenſity of the cold, or from exceſſive heat. The kingdom contains a full third more ſquare miles than Great Britain, and is in all directions interſected with large rivers and natural canals; which laſt have been greatly improved by art, and excellently applied to the purpoſes of internal commerce; and thereby the raw materials produced in one province, are eaſily, and at ſmall

expence, tranſported into others, where they are wrought up, and prepared for home conſumption, and for exportation. Their ſea coaſt is very extenſive, on which they have numbers of excellent ports and harbours, in the Engliſh Channel, the Bay of Biſcay, and the Mediterranean Sea. The people are in numbers more than double the inhabitants of the Britiſh Iſles; ingenious, lively, frugal, induſtrious, and, in general, wedded to the manufactures of their own country, and of which, generally ſpeaking, they poſſeſs the greateſt variety of any people on earth; though many of them are gaudy, and compoſed of materials of no great intrinſic value, as being calculated rather for ſhew than uſe. So much is faſhion in their favour, that beſides keeping alive a very quick circulation of property throughout their own provinces, they alſo draw immenſe ſums from the neighbouring nations on all ſides, as a balance in their favour, for theſe light, and otherwiſe unimportant, articles of commerce.

But the great ſtaple articles of their export trade, conſiſts in their wines and brandies, to which all Chriſtian Europe give a preference. With their light woollen cloths, rich ſilk, cambric, and muſlin manufactures, they have a prodigious, and almoſt excluſive, trade with Turkey, and within the laſt fifty years, with Spain, Portugal, and the States of Italy, from all of whom they draw very capital balances

balances in caſh, which, together with their trade to the coaſt of Africa, Weſt and Eaſt Indies, the individual merchants and manufacturers in France, would grow immenſely rich in the courſe of a few years of peace. But the inſecurity of property, which, in that kingdom, lies open to a thouſand oppreſſions, from the harpies of the ſtate, and the capricious, unaccountable unſteadineſs of their government, who are for ever projecting and deviſing reaſons for involving them in new wars with England, prevents that nation from lying in a ſtore and fund of wealth in the hands of individuals, from which, in due time, when the ſpunge ſhould fill, they might raiſe conſtant and regular annual ſupplies, ſufficient to eſtabliſh a naval power, to be kept conſtantly in commiſſion and exerciſe, that would raiſe them to a level with the navy of Great Britain.

It is this unſteady and fickle diſpoſition in the natives of France, which is not only obſervable in the individuals, but alſo pervades every branch of their government, together with the deſpotic influence of the crown, which prevents the French nation from riſing to an equality with the Engliſh, as a commercial and naval power. The neceſſary materials nature, no doubt, has put into her hands, did not certain circumſtances, fortunately for England, prevent the French nation from making the true uſe of them.

I am well aware, that the ſituation of England is exceedingly well calculated for general commerce; that her climate and inſular form, ſeem by nature calculated and intended, to breed up a more hardy race of ſeafaring people; that her internal reſources are, in ſome inſtances, ſuperior to thoſe of France; and that the daring ſpirit of mercantile adventure in our merchants, and the perſevering induſtry and ingenuity of our artiſts and manufacturers, exceed every thing of the kind in any other people. All this is admitted; but the cauſes of this ſpirit, and this perſeverance, are merely accidental, ariſing entirely from the ſecurity our people feel in their perſons and properties; defended, as they are, by the incomparable form of our matchleſs conſtitution of government, and the equality of our noble code of civil and religious laws, calculated for the protection of mental and perſonal liberty, and invariably adminiſtered with an eye to the preſervation and ſecurity of the private property of every individual ſubject in the realm.

Whilſt theſe bleſſings ſhall be continued to us unimpaired, our internal reſources are infinite and inexhauſtible—Without them, France in vain ſtruggles to become our ſuperior, as a naval power, and truly commercial empire: for in my opinion the terms are ſynonymous, and ought not to be ſeparated. Both nations have the ſtamina,

ſtamina, with which to form great and durable maritime powers. The local advantages of each over the other, in particular inſtances and particular circumſtances, might furniſh matter for endleſs diſputation, amongſt philoſophers and politicians of all denominations. I am a plain practical merchant, and mean to deal in plain matter of fact, ſupported by experience, and homely common ſenſe: I have no whimſical hypotheſis in view, that will require abſtruſe or metaphyſical reaſoning to ſupport; paſt and preſent experience is what I have to ſhew; and common ſenſe, and common reaſoning, will ſerve the purpoſe of making it underſtood by every man in the kingdom.

When I ſaid that commerce was a Proteus, I did not mean that ſhe had no native country, and legal habitation; France and England are her native countries. Ignorance, ſuperſtition, and tyranny, may baniſh her for a while; but the *Amor Patriæ* will for ever attend her, and in the courſe of time bring about her return. The reſidence ſhe made at Venice, with the Hans Towns, and in Holland, was the effect of neceſſity, and being unnatural, was of ſhort duration. I am not treating of that common and neceſſary trade, in exchange of commodities, inſeparable from all civilized nations, but of the fundamentals of that general and univerſal

verſal commerce, which is neceſſary to form ſtates into great and durable maritime powers.

I think that it is univerſally allowed, that France has the advantage of England, in every natural requiſite neceſſary to form a great commercial ſtate, or naval power; ſuch as climate, ſituation, extent of dominion, fertility of ſoil, native commodities, or natural wealth, and populouſneſs of inhabitants. England, on the other ſide, has no advantages over France, but ſuch as aroſe originally from accident, and have ſince been improved by time and habit, into what, in many inſtances, are ſuperior to what nature has more bountifully beſtowed on her rival; ſuch as the form of government, mode of faith, more early attachment to, and greater knowledge in, the great ſciences of agriculture, and general commerce, which firſt gave life to her moſt marvellous credit, and have ſince been ſupported by it. Whilſt theſe are carefully attended to and maintained, England will for ever take the lead of France as a naval power. And ſo far has her natural reſources been from being exhauſted, that they have not yet been fully explored, and may go on to be improved, *ad infinitum*.

To ſay that the loſs of our dominion over the colonies, implies the loſs of our trade with the colonies, is a very great miſtake; as much of it will remain

remain, as we ourſelves can wiſh ſhould remain :— But I hope that with the loſs of our dominion over North America, we ſhall loſe the rage for foreign colonization, and learn to colonize at home. Too much attention has been given to encourage and feed nations, who, whilſt they were growing up to maturity, became aliens firſt, and then inimical to us. Peace be to them, and their independency. Our language, manners, cuſtoms, habits, laws, religion, and liberty, from all which they have drawn their own, will remain attachments very powerful, and will attract them towards us. And there are other cauſes which will bind them faſt: Their wants are many, and will long continue, and no other nation on the face of the earth, is ſo able and ſo willing to ſupply them. As America increaſes in population, they will want more and more of the manufactures of England; and a full half of the money which their trade to Europe will produce from fiſh, corn, flour, rice, tobacco, furs, lumber, oil, tonnage, &c. will be remitted to London, Briſtol, Liverpool, and Glaſgow, to make good their orders for the innumerable articles of Engliſh manufactures, which they will not be able to make at home equally good and cheap, for ages yet to come. Their neceſſities will continue them our friends; and I fear more from the mercantile ſpirit of our merchants, in giving them too much credit, before their infant ſtate is well ſettled, than from any want of attachment in the Americans to our wares and merchandize.

Surely

Surely we are by this time convinced of the folly of a few ſmall iſlands, however populous and powerful, hoping to draw benefit from waging continental wars with more powerful nations. In the beginning of this century, we fancied that we ſaw ruin from the crown of Spain falling to a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon, and run fifty millions in debt to prevent it, without effect. Then we ſquabbled with Spain about ſome logwood huts in the Bays of Campechy and Honduras, which involved us in a war with that and the other branch of the Houſe of Bourbon, and brought the debt up to eighty millions. Then we dreamt that if we did not prevent the French from further encroachments on the back of our colonies in North America, they would in time drive them into the Atlantic Ocean, where they would be all drowned, and we in conſequence ruined. To prevent this imaginary evil, we increaſed our national debt to one hundred and thirty millions. Then not being able to find any body to quarrel with, we went to war with our own colonies, which having loſt, and at the ſame time ſubmitted to be placed back into nearly the ſame ſituation at the laſt peace, as we were in at the peace of Utrecht in 1713, on balancing our accounts, we find on our books, Debtor ſide, 240,000,000*l.* Creditor ſide, *a wide waſte of expenſive, and otherways uſeleſs, country in Canada.* But until ſome future governor, whoſe impatient ſpirit to govern the natives by his own will,

will, contrary to their rights and priviledges, ſhall repreſent to the miniſtry, that the Canadians, encouraged by the Americans, are unmanageable, and thereby delude us into another war on that continent, to get rid of it, it is not eaſy to ſay, how much more we muſt run in debt, before we ſhall be compelled from neceſſity, to mind our own affairs, and multiply at home.

The above account current, as it ſtands now, puts me in mind of the wiſdom of a countryman of mine, who coming in his way from church, to a wide ditch full of water, wagered with himſelf a guinea, that he could jump over it, and ſucceeded. He then wagered double or quits, that he could jump back again; but in the attempt fell in, and was nearly drowned. At length getting out, he obſerved, that as he had neither won nor loſt, the moſt prudent way would be to go home and dry himſelf.—I hope that we have made our laſt jump over the Atlantic Ocean to ſeek warfare, and ſhall in future ſeriouſly ſet about drying ourſelves.

I cannot, in this place, avoid expreſſing a wiſh, that by degrees we ſhall diſband our whole army, and in future depend on our militia for our home defence, and find ſome means to colonize our own waſte lands, with the ſoldiers and unprovided for unmarried woman, and in their ſtead, keep up fifty or, at leaſt forty, thouſand ſeamen, on regiſter,

two

two thirds of whom, in rotation, might be allowed leave of abſence on full pay, provided they engaged in the home trade, or narrow ſea fiſhery, by which more than double their pay and allowances, would be ſaved to the nation, now paid to the Oſtenders and Dutch, for fiſh in the port of London only.

With ſuch a body of able ſeamen, who ſhould not be entitled to their quarterly, half yearly, or twelvemonths allowance, from the ſtate, but by giving proper bondſmen for their appearance when wanted, and producing certificates, ſpecifying how they had paſſed their time, whether in the coal trade, coaſting trade, or narrow ſea fiſhery; which certificate to be ſigned by proper officers ſtationed in all the ſea port towns round the Iſland, as well as the Mayor, or firſt civil officer, and the Vicar of the pariſh, to which the man belonged. Some ſuch eſtabliſhment and regulation, would inſure to the ſtate, able and good ſeamen at ſhort warning, ſufficient to man ſixty ſail of the line, and the neceſſary frigates. Such a force would command, at leaſt, forbearance from inſult from foreign ſtates, and defend our remaining tranſmarine poſſeſſions, and the narrow ſeas, until the nation could put forth her whole ſtrength in her own defence.

As to confederate wars, and protection of allies, I hope we ſhall no more truſt to paper ſecurity, or involve ourſelves in continental connections.

In

In our late hour of extreme diſtreſs, at the moment when we were obliged to riſk the honour and ſafety of the nation, in ſending our whole collected ſtrength to relieve Gibraltar, in vain did we caſt our eyes to the continent in ſearch of a friend or ally. The Emperor, whoſe family owed to us every thing, was deaf; the King of Pruſſia paſſive; and three of the moſt inſignificant maritime ſtates in Europe, ſtrutted and looked big with their armed neutrality, on their fiſh-pond the Baltic. Gracious heaven, in thy infinite goodneſs and mercy, ſo liberally beſtowed and bountifully given, in manifold inſtances, to the happy people of theſe thy favoured Iſlands, be graciouſly pleaſed to add thereto, a ſmall portion of common ſenſe, to enable us to benefit from them. We are tolerable internal legiſlators, but miſerable politicians, as it relates to our connections with the world at large.

Though the Engliſh nation has long been famous for agriculture, they are yet very ſhort of perfection. The bounty on the exportation of corn, was the wiſeſt act of modern legiſlation, which can only be exceeded by a heavy duty on horſes kept for ſhew and pleaſure, more than for real uſe. Theſe animals conſume much, and return nothing to the public ſtock: A five year's old bullock, in a commercial country ſuch as this, is worth fifty of them. They till the earth, manure the land; their fleſh ſupplies food for people of all ranks

ranks, and their hide and tallow, furniſh employment and covering, to numbers of labouring poor handicraftſmen, ſhopkeepers, merchants, and at laſt become one of our firſt ſtaple articles of foreign commerce in leather. The various articles of conveniency and uſe made from it in England, are in the higheſt eſtimation all the world over.

It was our attention to agriculture, that firſt laid the foundation of our preſent commercial importance, and whilſt that ſhall be duly attended to, and properly improved, the unrivalled ſpirit of adventure, in the conſtruction of new home made manufactures, and deſire to extend foreign commerce, which has ſpread itſelf into every corner of the kingdom, will continue to increaſe, and with it the natural ſtrength of the nation, a naval power.

Whilſt the heads of the Spaniards and Portugueze were abſolutely turned, from the accidental circumſtances of the diſcoveries of the new world, and paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, they formed proverbial ſayings in their different languages, expreſſive of their contempt of thoſe very people, whom the reſt of Europe dignified with the emphatical appellation of the maritime powers. The Engliſh were their cutlers, their leather dreſſers, and their clothiers; and the Dutch their marine ſtorekeepers, their fiſhermen, and their watermen, who kept veſſels of all burthens and denominations,

minations, for no other purpoſe but to convey to the proud Portugueze, and indignant Spaniard, the conveniencies and luxuries of life, for which they deigned to pay them in gold and ſilver, remitted by their ſlaves from their new farms in the eaſt and in the weſtern world. To keep up this external ſhew of weak pride, and certain means of real internal ruin and debaſement, they depopulated their ſeveral nations, to ſupply tyrants in pomp, and ſlaves in fact, for the new diſcovered regions: for their ill gotten gold was of no other ſervice, when it arrived in Europe, than to pay to thoſe very nations, whom they affected to deſpiſe, for manufactures and merchandize, without which they could no longer exiſt, whilſt their fiſhermen and clothiers, as they in deriſion called them, become ſo much their maſters, as to dictate the law to them in the new and in the old world.

The difference of natural advantages poſſeſſed by the two rival trading nations, England and Holland, marked from the firſt their final fate. England roſe ſlowly into real and permanent power; her agriculture and manufactures in general, went hand in hand. The Dutch poſſeſſed little internal means of either. The ſea was their common; and whilſt other nations continued lazy, or ſo inattentive to their intereſts, as not to fiſh and navigate for themſelves, the Republic roſe ſuddenly from the Poor and Diſtreſſed, into the High and Mighty States

States of Holland. But the laſt hundred years has removed the miſt from their neighbours eyes, and they are again declining, and muſt, from the nature of things, decline, until they fall back into their natural rank amongſt the powers of Europe; and even that will not be permitted to them much longer, if they continue to deſert and betray, as they lately have done, their only true, natural, and faithful ally, England, whoſe influence and friendſhip alone, can ſupport their independence in Europe, and their poſſeſſions in Aſia.

There were times when the Engliſh government neglected their true intereſts, and ſuffered their peoples rage for manufactures, to make injudicious advances forward, whilſt agriculture was neglected and left behind, and they were called back to their reaſon, by the diſagreable conſequences of frequent, though perhaps temporary, ſcarcity, which obliged them to permit to be imported from abroad, the neceſſary proviſion for their labouring and manufacturing people. When ever this happens, or from whatever cauſe, the ſhock is more ſeverely felt, than the raiſing ten times the ſum ſent abroad for proviſions would be, if levied on her working people, by regular, well timed, and judiciouſly laid taxes. Shocks of all ſorts, cauſe violent obſtructions in commercial as well as natural bodies, and that of a ſcarcity of proviſion, the worſt of all. It deranges, in innumerable inſtances, private and individual

individual economy, and that clogs the commercial wheels, for years after the ſcarcity itſelf has been forgotten. Stateſmen, politicians, and projectors, are for ever quacking to cure an effect, which they miſtake for an efficient cauſe, though the cauſe itſelf has ceaſed to operate, and often, like quacks to the natural body, deſtroy what, if left to time, to nature, and a good conſtitution, would, by degrees, have recovered of itſelf. The limits which I have preſcribed to myſelf, prevent my going into a detail of circumſtances, to prove this important fact in this place. Something I ſhall ſay on the ſubject, when I come to treat of our Aſiatic commerce, in the fourth and laſt part.

It is not poſſible for a commercial ſtate to be injured by too great an extenſion of her manufactures, whether wrought from raw materials of her own produce, or from ſuch as are imported from abroad, provided that her agriculture ſo far keeps pace with them, as to enable her to maintain the manufacturers with corn and other proviſion, the produce of her own internal dominion, and admit annually of ſome conſiderable degree of exportation. France and Spain, in time of war, pay very high prices, both at home and in their colonies abroad, for Iriſh ſalted proviſions. Some coffee-houſe politicians, expreſs uneaſineſs at this—as if, by withholding of it, we could ſtarve them. I think ſo differently from theſe gentlemen, that if it

ſhould

ſhould ſo happen, that during a war, wheat was in plenty in England, at four ſhillings the buſhel, and there was a ſcarcity of that neceſſary of life in France, I would permit the exportation of it duty free into the enemies country, until it roſe to five ſhillings and ſixpence a buſhel at home. I ſpeak not now as a Chriſtian or as a moraliſt, actuated by charity or humanity, but merely as a mercantile politician. Money is ſaid to be the ſinnews of war; if ſo, that nation who, by changing her ſuperfluities into money, even with the power with whom ſhe is at war, would, in proportion to ſuch commerce of exchange, weaken her adverſary, and ſtrengthen herſelf. And was a committee to be formed by the Houſe of Commons, compoſed of country gentlemen, and ſome of our great foreign merchants, whoſe only buſineſs it ſhould be to examine into, and watch over, the ſelling price of corn all over the kingdom, and warn the Houſe conſtantly of its aggregate riſe or fall, ſo as that by increaſing or checking in time, the exportation, the price per buſhel could be kept vibrating between five and ſix ſhillings on a general average, in all parts of the kingdom. The great and ſtaple manufactures of the kingdom would not only take care of themſelves, but increaſe in exportation beyond our preſent ideas.

Had the great Chatham lived to have conducted the late unfortunate war, he muſt, to have acted conſiſtently

conſiſtently with his own principles, have ſtirred up a war againſt France in Flanders or Germany, in order to have waſted her power there, and preſerved America in the field where he boaſted that he won it. But with every mark of reſpect to the memory of that immortal man, I do affirm, that continental wars have always been the bane of England. Her former wars on the continent of Europe, were rank delirium; but the laſt on the continent of America, was madneſs itſelf. God knows whether this nation is, in the courſe of his providence, to be bleſſed with an adminiſtration, whoſe ſole views and exertions, will be directed to the defence of ourſelves, and the annoyance of our enemies, on the true principles of an inſular kingdom and commercial ſtate, a naval power. It never has happened yet. Some infatuation or other, has always dragged us into a continental war, for which our patriots and politicians, have ſometimes aſſigned ſuch reaſons, as were inconſiſtent with common ſenſe, or common honeſty.

Lewis XIV. born in the lap of tyranny, brought up and cheriſhed in the principles of deſpotiſm, either did not, or would not, underſtand, that the Engliſh nation had a right to take their crown from the head of James II. and put it on that of Mary his eldeſt daughter, and her huſband, the Prince of Orange, whilſt the King their father was yet alive; and having beſides, contracted a

perſonal friendſhip with James, whilſt that Prince was an exile in his dominions, during the uſurpation of Cromwell, conſidered himſelf as bound in honour, to do ſomething to ſupport the intereſt of that Prince. It is generally believed, that he had made a ſolemn promiſe to James on his death bed, to acknowledge his infant ſon King of England, when his own demiſe ſhould happen, and ſupport his intereſt, when the death of William III. ſhould give a fair opportunity ſo to do. He kept his word; and it muſt be allowed that this was a juſt cauſe of offence. Had England confined her operations to a naval war, ſhe would have acted juſtly and prudently, and in all probability, ſoon have reduced Lewis to reaſon.

Charles II. King of Spain, died about the ſame time, who had, by the laws of Spain, as good and juſt a right to leave his crown to a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon, as the Parliament of England had to give the crown of James to Mary and William. But this fact, ſo plain to common ſenſe and common honeſty, wilful headſtrong policy would not ſee. And the Engliſh nation, who felt the utmoſt diſguſt that a King of France ſhould preſume to interfere with the ſucceſſion to their crown, ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by the popular orators of the day, that they had a right to involve all Spain in a civil war, in order to force on them a Prince of the Houſe of Auſtria, in violation of

their

their own feelings, and the right of their deceaſed monarch, to appoint a ſucceſſor to his throne; and voted away millions after millions of money, in order to compel the Spaniards to accept a King of Engliſh nomination, when they were determined not to ſubmit to the indignity of receiving a King themſelves from France, though he was a Prince who had lately been born in their own dominions, and lineally deſcended from their own line of heriditary Kings, for I know not how many ages back.

The honeſty of ſuch proceedings out of the queſtion, the policy proved ruinous and abominable. Before the ſucceſſion war, the natives of France and Spain, were more averſe to one another, than any other two nations in Europe. A Spaniard looked on all Frenchmen as being born the inveterate enemies of his country; and individually, as a ſkipping, dancing ape, in man's apparel. In return, the Frenchman conſidered the Spaniard as an uncivilized, unſocial, ſullen, ſolemn, pedantic brute, whoſe whole wiſdom lay in his long ſword and enormous cloak. Lewis XIV. has the credit of ſaying, that the Pyreneans were removed by his grandſon's acceſſion to the crown of Spain, but it was our folly which removed the mountains of national prejudice. The Spaniards ſaw and felt a Britiſh army ravaging every province in their kingdom, to force a King upon them againſt their inclination, and the French acting as their friends,

in defending their right to adopt the Prince left them by the will of their late ſovereign, whom they acknowledged had a right to ſuch nomination. Before that unjuſt and injudicious war, France enjoyed little or no mercantile intercourſe with Spain; and the ſubjects of the latter were ſo attached to Engliſh manufactures of all ſorts, that our export trade in thoſe days was very great, both to that and its neighbouring kingdom of Portugal. But from the peace of Utrecht, when Philip of Anjou, Lewis the XIVth's grandſon, was acknowledged King of Spain, notwithſtanding all our expence of blood and treaſure to prevent it, from that fatal period to the preſent moment, the French have adapted their conduct and politics, to the manners and feelings of the Spaniards, and their manufactures to their faſhions and habits, inſomuch, that their trade with Spain is ten times over more than ours; and their national prejudices have been in a great meaſure transferred from the French to the Engliſh; when if we had ſuffered the Spaniards to do for themſelves, what we were doing at the ſame time for ourſelves, taking the foreign Prince whom they liked to govern them, the French Prince and his ſucceſſors, would have become Spaniards in habit and principle, as the Houſe of Hanover has become Engliſh. This accounts for the loſs of half of what is called our Levant trade. I ſhall take notice of the cauſes of the loſs of the other half, in part the fourth.

The

The gradual decline of our export trade to the ſouth of Europe, was neither noticed nor felt; for about the ſame time, the demand for our manufactures from our colonies in the Weſt Indies, and in North America, began to be conſiderable. What we loſt we did not miſs, nor did we obſerve into what channel it was running, otherwiſe the nation would not have compelled the miniſtry into a war with Spain in the year 1739, on ſo frivolous an account, as a diſpute about a little logwood, and a few huts, in the Bay of Honduras; which injudicious diſpute, rivited the Spaniards in their diſlike to our nation, and threw them abſolutely into the arms of France for protection, againſt our growing naval power; and by keeping their merchants from any direct communication with this country for ten years, turned the balance of their demands for foreign manufactures for home conſumption, their Weſt India Iſlands, and continent of South America, totally in favour of France. A trade once turned from a country at a diſtance, into that of another country on the ſame continent, and nearer home, ſoon becomes fixed. A friendly intercourſe between the ſubjects of neighbouring ſtates, grow into familiar habits; old friendſhips are forgotten by individuals; and the trade can never be recovered. Our continental wars in Europe, have abſolutely produced theſe very diſagreable effects, and France, in conſequence, robbed us of great part of our trade to Spain, and to Turkey,

key, when we patched up the peace, or rather truce, of *Aix-la-Chappelle*, in 1748. Still our commerce with the colonies increaſed rapidly, which enabled us to enter into a new war with France, on account of our North American poſſeſſions, in 1756. Into that war we entered on the moſt honourable and juſtifiable principles of any the nation has ever yet been engaged. Still the old infatuation dragged us over into Flanders and Germany, where we had no more buſineſs to involve ourſelves, than we ſhould have now to join the Emperor againſt the Turks. The war was carried on with ſucceſs in all quarters of the world, and ended in our favour; but it left us ſo much in debt, as to induce the miniſters of the day, to look towards America for aſſiſtance to enable them to pay the intereſt of that money which had been ſpent in the quarrel. The demand, or rather the manner in which it was made, not being reliſhed there, it begat altercation, and that led to war and confuſion. To avoid us at ſea, and to meet us on ſhore at a diſtance from our own home, had ever been the policy of France. She ſoon diſcovered that the quarrel into which we were now about to involve ourſelves with the colonies, would ſuſpend our commerce, increaſe our national debt, and weaken our power in every part of the world. She therefore, moſt politically on her ſide, fomented the diſpute, by firſt promiſing, and then ſending aſſiſtance to the weaker party. That this nation had

had much to loſe, and nothing, not even honour, to gain, by this unnatural conteſt, every body ſaw but ourſelves; and we blindly and madly proceeded from one falſe ſtep to another, until we found ourſelves fighting for our laſt ſtake of commercial influence, even with our own children, when in 1778, France ſhook off the maſk, by throwing her whole weight into the ſcale of America. Our ſituation from that moment, was exactly ſimilar with that of an individual, who, poſſeſſing a clear income of five thouſand pounds a year, ſhould ſit down with a ſharper not worth a groat, and after having loſt a ſtake or two, find himſelf ſo heated by the infatuation of gambling, as to proceed on to the loſs of his whole fortune, originally ſtaked againſt nothing.

At the cloſe of this war, as at the end of all others, the additional debt into which we had thus wantonly involved ourſelves, is not the greateſt of our evils. By the ſucceſſion war, and logwood war, we had removed the miſt of prejudice from before the eyes of Spain, and made her diſcover not only a friend in France, but alſo a powerful commercial neighbour, by whom ſhe could be ſupplied with facility and certainty, with moſt, if not all, the manufactures that ſhe formerly took from her haughty and quarrelſome correſpondent, England. Religious prejudices had nothing to do with this: ſhe neither had complained that the manufactures

factures which ſhe formerly took of the Engliſh, were manufactured by heretical or ſacrilegious hands; nor does ſhe now boaſt, that French wares are the better for being wrought by Catholics. Commerce is of no religion; neceſſity flies to her for aid, and mutual conveniency continues the intercourſe. Free as air, ſhe ranges the world at large; eats pork with a Chriſtian, puppy-dog with a Chineſe, and camel's fleſh with a Turk; a ſworn enemy to war, has been the greateſt civilizer of mankind, and is the true citizen of the world. She continues ſtill to hover over the Britiſh Iſles, as a land of liberty, and prays for peace, that ſhe may accompany it with plenty.

Our continental wars have always been of long duration, and in their conſequences drained us both of men and money. A land army cannot exiſt, if not paid monthly, or oftener; and on this account, millions of Engliſh money were ſent into Germany in the three former wars, never to return. The late war on the continent of America, has been productive of conſequences ſtill more dreadful. The Americans were the offspring of our own bowels, had been trained up in a love to our religion, language, laws, habits, cuſtoms, manners, and prejudices; formidable barriers theſe to break through; yet our evil genius has diſcovered the means of ſevering them from us for ever. At the moment they were compelled to a declaration of independence,

independence, or ſubmit to terms which to them appeared worſe than death, the produce of the whole Thirteen States ſtood pledged for more than its value for eighteen months to come, in debts from individuals to individuals, for the manufactures of this country. Their non-importation law put a ſtop to our export trade with them; and their declaration of independence, and war in conſequence, liquidated, or ſpunged, away their former commercial obligations to the Engliſh merchants. This compelled them to open a new trade with their new allies, the French. French fleets filled their harbours, and French armies defended their provinces: and whilſt we were tranſmitting millions on millions of our money, to pay our army kept in their country, for no other purpoſe than by their ravages, to compel them to a wider alienation of their affections from us, it ſupplied them with current money to open a commerce with their defenders, and our mortal enemies and rivals in trade, the French; inſomuch, that at the end of the war, we ſtand one hundred millions more in debt, than at its commencement; have removed their former prejudices in favour of Engliſh faith, Engliſh friendſhip, and Engliſh commerce; part of which is transferred to the French, and the reſt ſcattered all over the world; for our declaration of their independence, has laid open all the ports thereof to them. Their own nominal debt of paper dollars, which ſerved their purpoſe

to collect proviſions and ſtores, to ſupport their army during the war, has ſunk gradually, and by regular depreciations, into oblivion; and they begin the world anew, with liberty for the foundation, and a circulating ſtock of more than four millions of gold and ſilver, imported and ſpent amongſt them, by Engliſh and French fleets and armies.—Such have been the fatal effects of continental wars, to this miſruled and miſguided country.

If it ſhall be our chance to war ſoon again, I hope to God that we ſhall try our fortune for once, in a ſea war only, and for the following reaſons.

Becauſe, A naval force is the natural and only ſafe mode of arming the nation in its own defence: Nor would two hundred ſail of the line, with the neceſſary compliment of frigates, be ſo dangerous an inſtrument of power in the hands of the crown, or of influence in the hands of the miniſtry, as an army of twenty thouſand regulars.

Becauſe, The whole of the proviſion uſed by our ſhips of war, at home and abroad, is the produce and manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland: And becauſe, when the ſhips companies are paid their wages, it is always in ſome harbour in the kingdom, where the money is inſtantly ſent back by thoſe brave and generous fellows into circulation,

culation, amongſt their fellow ſubjects of all trades, callings, and profeſſions; a circumſtance in itſelf alone, of ſufficient conſequence to give the preference to a naval war.

Becauſe, Having no conſiderable drafts to make, of men to ſupport an army acting abroad on a continent, the corps of militia might be kept full with eaſe: And becauſe a ſeafaring war would cauſe all, or moſt of the money, ſpent in conſequence, to circulate at home amongſt ourſelves, inſtead of being ſpent amongſt ſtrangers.

Becauſe, The Houſe of Bourbon united, would not be found an over match for us in ſuch a conteſt: And becauſe experience has ſhewn, that until their trade and commerce has been almoſt annihilated, by the ſuperior gallantry of our ſeamen, they never have conſented to make peace. Had not Lord Rodney drubbed them in the weſt, and Lord Howe foiled and ſhamed them in the Straits, Gibraltar and Jamaica muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to the curſed American continental war.

Becauſe, We have no more money to ſpend wantonly, and have ſome honour to recover, which never can be atchieved by a continental war.

Becauſe, That the French are ſo ſenſible of all this, that even now they are preparing under hand,

hand, to ſtrengthen themſelves ſo as to continue the continental confuſions in Aſia.

Becauſe, That though Canada, Nova-Scotia, Hallifax, and all their dependencies, are not now, nor ever will be, to this nation, worth one half million annually, the French will do all they can to draw us once more there to defend them on ſhore, in the hope of running your national debt up to three hundred millions.

Becauſe, We have never yet tried the experiment of a pure, unadulterated naval war: though every cool and thinking man in the nation, whether patriots or others, is, and always has been, of opinion, that it is the only way by which we can hold our preſent rank as one of the firſt powers in Europe.

Becauſe, The rage for encampments and military exhibitions, has drawn off the minds of the country people from their natural and proper occupations, and made it neceſſary to ſend recruiting ſerjeants and corporals, into every hole and corner of the united kingdom, to drag men from the plough, the mills, the forges, and the looms, to recruit a continental army, to the deſtruction of public ſecurity, and private happineſs.

Becauſe, The four laſt impolitic continental wars, have deſtroyed a million and a half of our beſt men; left unprovided and half ſtarving, half the number of widows, and ſent full as many fine young girls to lead apes, or to patrole the ſtreets and alleys of London, and other great cities, in queſt of a miſerable exiſtence, which is worſe than the other; and impiouſly offered defiance to the laws of God and nature, by ſtopping, ſo far as the evil extends, the propagation of mankind.

Becauſe, The ſame impolitic paſſion for foreign conqueſts, hath left the nation without much foreign territory, and that reduced to a very precarious tenor.

Becauſe, Without a very cloſe attention in future, to the firſt principles of commerce, agriculture and manufactures, ſo as to induce a great and regular exportation of the proceeds of both, we ſhall ſoon, from our follies and factional ſquabbles about power, ſink in the eyes of all the world, into as contemptible a condition as the Dutch Republic, without their excuſe, having the means of ſalvation fully in our own power.

Becauſe, The nation ſtands pledged for a regular payment of the intereſt of two hundred and forty millions of pounds ſterling, on the punctuality and half yearly performance of which, hangs

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the national honour, national credit, and abſolute ſalvation.

Becauſe, We have the power of doing ſo yet in our own hands: And becauſe, to neglect purſuing ſuch honeſt and fair means, to extricate ourſelves from the difficulties brought on by our follies and extravagance, will be forfeiting to all eternity, the honeſt name of Engliſhmen, and ſneaking into a bankruptcy like a nation of paltry ſwindlers.

PART IV.

WE have ſeen that from the national improvements in agriculture, our people have been encouraged and ſupported, in eſtabliſhing and extending innumerable branches of home wrought manufactures; not only from the ſtaple articles of our own internal productions, which are prodigious and, by good management, inexhauſtible, but alſo from raw materials of great value and uſe, imported from abroad. Liberty is the root, agriculture the trunk, manufactures the limbs, general commerce the branches, unbounded credit the bloſſoms, and naval power the fruit, of that prodigious tree, under whoſe friendly ſhade, the Engliſh name and glory, has ſpread itſelf into every region and corner of the earth.

A furious ſtorm aroſe in the weſt, which ſhook ſome of the branches, and they have dropped off from the trunk; yet enough remain, which, with proper care, will bring forth new bloſſoms, and ripen into more ſolid and durable fruit; if the manure ariſing from the remaining branches, is but properly applied to the nouriſhment of the ſhaken, but not decayed, or falling, trunk.

Our foreign commerce may be ſaid to have been in its infancy at the accſſion of William III. ſince when, it has ſupported the nation through four long, expenſive, and bloody continental wars, each of which, on an average, coſt us ſixty millions of money more than we were worth, beſides as much more for intereſt already paid; and the aggregate ſum total of debt yet remaining againſt us, will demand, for years to come, nine millions more, excluſive of our peace eſtabliſhment, or current expence of government, which has been eſtimated at three millions five hundred thouſand pounds. Theſe diſagreable recapitulations of what we owe, and what we muſt pay, are not intended to intimidate, but to inſpire: They are collected and brought to one point of view, to prove what, with ſpirit and good management, we may do, by ſhewing what has already been done.

The colonies doing without our government, goes no way to prove that they can do without our manufactures.

manufactures. It will require a long courſe of years before they will be able to ſupply themſelves in any degree with woollen goods, cotton goods, hardware, labouring tools of all ſorts, and fifty other articles of our home made manufactures, abſolutely neceſſary to them, which they can neither make themſelves, nor obtain of other nations, on terms nearly ſo reaſonable. The faſter they multiply, the better for us; their demands for our goods, and ability to pay for them, will increaſe in proportion. If we have loſt them by our folly, the ſeparation has been complete, and thereby the cauſe of future quarrel done away for ever. Circumſtance and ſituation, made it impoſſible for this nation to have held them much longer with chains forged in ſo tumultous a ſmithy as our Houſe of Commons, where the *outs* and *ins* are ſo nearly equal, and the *outs* always for them. Love nor gratitude, could not bind them to us for ever; ſo ſhall not their hatred or revenge, become eternal. There were advantages accruing to them from the union, which, when they become cool, they will recollect; if not with gratitude, at leaſt with a degree of kindneſs, that will ſerve to cement the friendſhip which mutual neceſſity, and mutual intereſt, are now forming. Though we could not live cordially together under the ſame roof, we may, as branches of the ſame family, become very good friends at a diſtance, which we ſee is almoſt always the caſe in private families. With Engliſhmen,

Americans

Americans are no longer rebels; with Americans, Engliſhmen are no longer tyrants. On the weſt ſide the Atlantic, may they join hands, and dance round the liberty tree; and on the eaſt ſide, quaff a potation to Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. Kings and Miniſters die—But liberty in England and America, let us hope may be immortal.

Though the injudicious and impolitic wars which the evil genius of England, in the ſhape of France, has often drawn us into, have frequently checked, and more than once turned the channel of foreign commerce againſt us, ſtill there is ſufficient remaining, if we ſupport it by our natural arms, a naval power. Innumerable are the proofs which I could produce in ſupport of this aſſertion, drawn from all quarters of the globe; but I have already exceeded the bounds which I at firſt preſcribed to myſelf, and have our Eaſt India Commerce yet untouched.

The acknowledgement of the Independence of America, and univerſal free trade to Ireland, may induce many perſons to imagine, that the time is come when England ſhould lay open to all her ſubjects, the trade to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The idea is in general erroneous, and with reſpect to Great Britain and Ireland, (conſidering their intereſts as one, and I know not how to ſeparate them,) pernicious and deſtructive. I have ſaid much on that ſubject in the Free Merch-

ant's Letters, which I challenge any man in the world to refute, ſo ſhall paſs it by here.

As the raw materials for our very extenſive cotton and ſilk manufactories, are imported from abroad, and the commercial barriers formerly erected by this nation, have been thrown down and levelled with the earth, all the advantage which our manufactures can poſſibly have over thoſe of other nations, muſt ariſe from our being able to import the neceſſary raw materials, and ſerving them to our workmen, at cheaper rates than their rivals in other nations can obtain them.

The field before me is ſo boundleſsly extenſive, and our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, capable of furniſhing to this nation, on low and advantageous terms, ſuch vaſt variety of raw articles for our manufactures, that was I to enter into them at large, it would ſwell this pamphlet into a large volume. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to ſpeaking on four ſubjects only,—an unexpenſive addition to our national naval force;—the importation of raw ſilk from Bengal and China;—a better mode of ſupplying ourſelves, the people in Ireland, and even ſelling to the Americans all ſorts of tea, cheaper than they can fetch it from China for themſelves;—and a plan for the importation of cotton from Bombay, in ſuch quantities, as to reduce the price of that valuable commodity, forty

per

per cent. below its preſent market price to our manufacturers. If the Eaſt India Company's managers think otherways, they will refute my arguments; if not, they muſt improve on them, or other companies and other nations will.

At the commencement of the war in 1756, this nation had then in India four ſail of the line, and two flag officers, Admiral Watſon, and the preſent Sir George Pocock. During that war our force was increaſed, under the above officers, and their ſucceſſors in command, from time to time, by additional ſhips, until we had ſixteen ſail of the line in India. The French diſputed the command of the ſea with us in that quarter of the globe, during three years of that war. Three furious actions were fought, in which *victory* remained to us, from keeping the ſea longer than the enemy; for not a ſhip was taken, burnt, or ſunk, on either ſide. The *Bien Aime*, indeed, one of the French ſhips, proved ſo leaky, after the ſecond action, as to make it neceſſary to run her on ſhore, and this was the only loſs ſuſtained in conſequence of the actions; Yet the French never had, at any one time, more than *ſix* ſail of their King's line of battle ſhips in India during the war; all their others were their India Company's ſhips, half manned with black or India born ſeamen. Though I have noticed this circumſtance in a former publication, I thought it of ſufficient magnitude to repeat it here once again.

In the year 1760, Pondicherry fell into our hands. If from that time, or even from the former peace of Paris in 1763, our East India Company had been compelled to pierce their new built ſhips for carrying fifty 18, 12, and 6 pounder guns, (and they are of dimenſions ſufficient to bear them,) the following good conſequences would have enſued. At the commencement of the late war, there was but one Engliſh ſhip of the line in India, the Rippon, of 60 guns; and for a conſiderable time after, the miniſtry could ſpare no other reinforcement, than the Aſia of 64 guns. Before Admiral Hughes arrived with four ſail of the line, and two fifties, the French had been driven from the coaſt of Malabar, and Bay of Bengal, to the Iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon: And had our East Indiamen been but properly armed, Sir Edward Hughes could have taken as many of them into the King's ſervice occaſionally, as would have kept his ſquadron always ſuperior to any force the French could have ſent from their Iſlands. But the French obſerving our embarraſſments at home, and the ſmall force Sir Edward had under his command in India, diſpatched *D' Orviers* firſt, and *Suffrein* afterwards, and recommenced the war in India with advantage; becauſe that they knew that Sir Edward Hughes could not be ſupplied with more ſhips from Europe, until it ſhould become too late. And I moſt poſitively affirm, that had our East India ſhips been pierced and armed, as the French or as the Dutch

East

East India ſhips always have been in time of war, the French would not have appeared again in the Indian ſeas, after the capture of Pondicherry in October 1778. What an immenſe difference that would have cauſed in our favour, in carrying on of the war in Europe, and the advantage it would have continued to us againſt Hyder Ally, on the coaſt of Coromandel, who, in that caſe, could have had no hope of aſſiſtance from the French, I ſhall leave others to determine.

The East India Company have now, and at all times, from eighty to ninety ſail of noble ſhips in their ſervice, or building, to ſupply the place of thoſe which have run out their four voyages. Generally ſpeaking, they may be ſaid to be divided into four fleets, one fourth part, or twenty ſhips, at home, one fourth outward bound, another in India, and another on their way home. This regular arrangement may perhaps, in ſome inſtances, be deviated from; but no man will deny, that the Company have in their employ, or at their command, the number of ſhips which I mention; nor will any man affirm, that there is now in the ſervice, a ſingle ſhip twenty years old; of courſe, had the ſhips which have been built ſince the year 1763, been pierced for to carry fifty guns, the ſtate would not have felt the diſtreſs it did for want of an additional marine force in the late war. I will apply it only in one more inſtance, and then proceed to other matters.

In

In the laſt year of the late war, the efforts of the Houſe of Bourbon in Europe, were contracted to a ſmall focus, and directed to one point, the ſiege of Gibraltar. The fate of that garriſon was, by all Europe, conſidered as the circumſtance on which the whole honour of the war would turn between the contending parties. But England had more than honour at ſtake. When the grand fleet ſailed to the relief of Gibraltar, it was neceſſary that every ſhip that the nation could collect, ſhould accompany Lord Howe, to give him even a chance of being within ten capital ſhips, as powerful as the combined fleet of France and Spain, laid directly in his way, with the declared intention of oppoſing his paſſage to the relief of the garriſon; and our whole coaſt, from Flamborough-head, in Yorkſhire, to the land's end in Cornwall, as well as our Baltic, coaſting, and foreign trading ſhips and veſſels, were left expoſed to the inſults and depredations of fourteen ſail of the line, and ſeven frigates, then equipped and lying ready in the Texel. Had the Dutch fleet came out ſoon after Lord Howe had ſailed with the grand fleet for the Straits, (and why they did not I have yet to learn,) with only two regiments of ſoldiers on board their ſhips of war, and come to anchor off the Humber, the Thames, the Iſle of Wight, or in Torbay Road, or only have hovered about thoſe places for three weeks or a month, without even firing a ſhot, or attempting to land a ſingle man, our terror would have been general throughout the

nation,

nation, our losses at sea considerable, our expences on shore immense, and our disgrace immortal. I know not what others feel at recollecting such our very recent defenceless situation, but there is something trickling down my cheek at the very idea, that poor distracted old England has so lately been left exposed to the chance of such dire dishonour from such an enemy, and that to save to a body of merchants, who can well spare it, a few thousands per annum: for had the Indiamen then at home, been but properly armed, there were of them then on float, more than sufficient to have blocked up the Dutch fleet in the Texel. At such a time, with our all at stake, the embargo which must from necessity, have been laid on the tonnage in all our eastern and southern ports, would have furnished hands sufficient to have manned them.

As some such plan for strengthening our naval power, may, at so little waste of timber or money, be carried into execution by degrees, and, as it were, insensibly, surely no private interests will prevent its being adopted in future.

Every branch of the silk manufacture in this kingdom, has increased extremely within these last thirty years. Having no raw silk of our own produce, we have been obliged to import it from several ports of Spain, Italy, the Levant, from Bengal, and From China. Prior to the year 1757, silver

ver was exported from home to pay for it at the two laſt places, and the quantity imported was conſequently much limited. The whole annual quantity did not, at that period, exceed two to three hundred thouſand pounds at moſt. Since we have been in poſſeſſion of the Bengal provinces, it has increaſed gradually, inſomuch, that the Eaſt India Company import from Bengal only, to the amount of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in filature, and the common ſorts of raw ſilk; and from both places, their amount imports, *communibus annis*, falls little ſhort of a million ſterling.

It is the ſtaple articles of a nation's own produce in raw materials, that can be ſaid to be ſo far ſafe, as to depend on her attention to, and care of, her agriculture; ſuch in England are our woollen and leather branches of trade. Our ſilk and cotton manufactures, which are prodigious, and employ an immenſe number of hands, who conſume the produce of the earth, and keep the ploughs going, depending on the importation of their raw materials from abroad, are conſequently ſubject to various untoward accidents; and ſuch branches of the commerce of all countries, always muſt ebb and flow, as accidents interpoſe, or the fortune of war ſhall direct. The Portugueze, who formerly ſupplied all the world with the rich ſpices, are now obliged to take what they want for themſelves from the Dutch. The loſs of the Levant trade has been

been much complained of in England: The French have, no doubt, robbed us of part in the manner above noted; but much of the raw ſilk trade has been transferred to Bengal, greatly to our advantage, and not loſt. Such fluctuations muſt for ever attend a commerce, dependent on external contingencies. At the late peace, our fur trade, our cotton trade, and our gum trade, received ſevere ſhocks, but have not by any means been annihilated. Such revolutions it is the nature of human affairs to bring about. Future ages ſhall ſee the Americans weſt of the Appalachian mountains, on the ſhores of the Pacific Ocean, ſhipping off their furs to Japan and to China; and perhaps ſome perſons now alive, may hear of their having ſtripped Spain of both the Floridas, of the logwood ſhores in the Bays of Campechy and Honduras, and become very troubleſome to them on the Iſthmus of Darien, from Porto Bello to Panama. When the paſſion of revenge, and not ſound policy, impels a nation to war, which was the caſe with Spain in her late quarrel with us, the conſequences are ſoon after known. Twenty years ago, it was in the power of England, to have left the Americans their preſent friends, the French, *a cruel thorn in their ſide*, in a ſemicircle, from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, to the mouth of the river Miſſiſipi. Their then enmity would have been kept up, and ſecured the allegiance of the former to the Crown of Great Britain. But man is prone

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to look forward, to act on preſent ideas, and draw but little advantage from paſt experience. Nations do the ſame; or we ſhould not, in our ſenates, ſpend the time in wrangling, whilſt we ought to debate. Bengal is an inexhauſtible mine of ſilk, and other raw materials, with which to ſupply the manufacturing hands of this country.

Tea, the introduction of which into general uſe, was long oppoſed, has now found its way into every cottage in the kingdom, and in ſome degree, baniſhed the pernicious cuſtom of dram-drinking from amongſt the lower order of women. At worſt, it is an elegant and innocent luxury, and one of the moſt productive articles of exciſe. The taxes levied on it and its concomitant, ſugar, may be ſaid to be optional contributions to the ſtate from individuals, and not vexatious, or pernicious taxations. Whilſt our common people fancy that they can afford to uſe tea and ſugar, why ſhould they not enjoy them? Neither are pernicious to health, or corruptors of morals: on the reverſe, I believe that the general uſe of tea which now prevails, has contributed much to the refinement of the manners of the middle and lower orders of the people. One fact I venture to affirm without fear of contradiction from our naval officers; it is become an article of ſea ſtore with our common ſeamen; and in many of their cheſts are found a ſmall tea-kettle, as a ſubſtitute for the tin pot to heat *Flip*; perhaps

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it may ſerve the purpoſe of both; but a little tea, when the brave and honeſt fellows can get it, is very refreſhing, very acceptable, and I believe as wholeſome as the other.

It is to be lamented that an article ſo innocent in itſelf, and ſo beneficial to the ſtate, ſhould drain the kingdom, as it moſt certainly does, of half a million a year in ready money. *Tea*, ſuch as the middle and lower orders of our people uſe, is ſo extremely cheap at China, that the Portugueze, French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and of late even the Emperor's ſhips, under the conduct of *Mr. Bolts*, receive on board at Canton in China, immenſe quantities ready packed, with the declared purpoſe of ſelling of it to the Engliſh ſmugglers, for which they are paid in good guineas. I have heard an Engliſh officer, who returned from China in a French ſhip, declare, that having lent to the ſecond captain of the French ſhip ſome money at China, which he laid out in boxes of tea, the captain ſold them on the coaſt of France to an Engliſh cutter, for *ſeventy per cent.* and repaid him his money in Engliſh guineas, before that he landed at Port *L'Orient*. But this is a fact too well known to need proofs. Even that great and able financier, Lord North, is well acquainted with every circumſtance relative to it, but hitherto has not been able to deviſe the means of putting a ſtop to it. One half of our people pay to govern-

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ment half a million annually for permiſſion to drink tea, and the other half ſend an equal ſum abroad to foreign powers for the ſame priviledge—Such are the effects of high duties on very portable articles. Drawbacks on cuſtoms and exciſe, are pernicious and dangerous things; they are rods contrived to whip the hand of the granter. Whether a tea tax on houſes, in proportion to their quarterly or annual rent, levied on the occupier for permiſſion to drink tea, would anſwer the purpoſe, I know not. It is a matter of vaſt magnitude, and worthy the conſideration of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, the finance Miniſter, and the Cabinet Council.

The Dutch Company exiſt not by their trade to India, but by the remittance of the balance of their eſtate in India, in proper articles of Aſiatic merchandize, to Europe for ſale; juſt as a gentleman who has an eſtate in Jamaica, lives in England on the produce of his ſugars ſent home by his ſteward.

At Batavia, the Dutch load four very large ſhips annually with block tin, pepper, ſpices, and Japan copper, and ſend them to China, where they are loaded with teas, of the ſecond and third ſorts, and ſail directly for Amſterdam, Rotterdam, or Middleburgh in Zealand, from whence more than half of their cargoes of tea, are in the moſt open and barefaced manner, loaded by Engliſh ſmuggl-

lers,

lers, and run into England in dark nights, along the whole of our north and eaſt coaſts, and for which the Dutch conſtantly receive every year, from two to three hundred thouſand Engliſh guineas.

We have the means in our hands, of ſending goods from Bengal, and other parts of India, to China, ſufficient to load as much tea as we want; and our Company would be able to ſell it to the Americans, to the Iriſh, and to our own people, remarkably cheap, and yet gain very handſomely by it. But whilſt by high duties on one ſide the Iſland, and the pernicious drawbacks on the other, ſmuggling remains ſo beneficial a traffic to the Dutch, and to our own unfair dealers, all plans of mercantile economy, in the article of tea, I much fear muſt become viſionary.

We may perhaps ſucceed better with our cotton plan—Let us try.

It is matter of curious ſpeculation to obſerve, the ſudden changes and quick fluctuations, in the manners, habits, and dreſs, of a buſy, active, commercial people, unfettered by religious prejudices, and in poſſeſſion of civil liberty. Forty or fifty years ago, a journey to London from Cumberland or Cornwall, required as much preparation and reſolution, as it does now to undertake a trip to the continent. In thoſe days, the

wives

wives and daughters of our middling merchants, ſhop-keepers, manufacturers, and farmers, were clad in felt hats, ſome of them high crowned, ſcarlet cloaks, ſtuff gowns, linſey woolſey or flannel petticoats, worſted ſtockings, and leather ſhoes. If they had any wrought ſilk about them, it was a plain ribbon or two, pinned round a linen cap; or cotton, it was in garters, interwoven with love mottos. They valued themſelves on wearing the home wrought woollen manufactures of their own country, as much almoſt as their great great grandmothers did in the days of Elizabeth, when a flock bed, ſheets of ſail cloth, and a dowlas ſmock, were deemed luxuries even at court.

See the ſame orders of the people now, at church, in the fields, at the play-houſe, or vauxhall, elegantly decorated in gauze caps, interwoven with ſeveral yards of fine wrought ribbon; ſilk cloaks, which coſt more than their mother's whole covering did in 1740; printed cotton gown, petticoat the ſame, or of fine linen, cotton ſtockings, and calimanco ſhoes.—What a change! And this we owe, in the firſt inſtance, to the bounty allowed on the exportation of corn, which added a new pair of wings to our foreign commerce, and increaſed the ſilk and cotton manufactures to their preſent amazing height, not only for home conſumption, but alſo for exportation; in both of which, more hands are now employed, than there were formerly in the

woollen

woollen trade. Thoſe who imagine that this laſt has fallen off in conſequence, are miſtaken. The introduction of the new manufactures, have had a moſt excellent effect, in keeping down the prices of the raw materials of that national ſtaple article, and enables our merchants to export immenſe quantities of woollen cloths to all parts of the world.—But wool is cheap, ſay the ſtock graziers—So it ought to be, my friends; for there are above a million of ſheep ſlaughtered every year in the kingdom, and other animals in proportion, more than there was at the beginning of this century. I do therefore believe, that the number of our people have increaſed, which are, in effect, the riches and ſtrength of a nation. Thoſe who give credit to the doctrine of Doctor Price, will be reduced to believe the fact, or prove that we devour twice as much animal food as our grandfathers did. That we eat more in proportion, I believe to be true; the reaſon is, our briſk trade has enabled us ſo to do. Our guineas, and ſurloins of beef, are become common now in places, where, in the days of King William, they were deemed as much a phenomenon as a comet.

Raw ſilk and cotton wool, is as neceſſary to the ſupport of our manufacturers, as cultivating the breed of our ſheep is. They tend to increaſe and ſupport, and not to deſtroy one another, as ſome ſuperficial obſervers would induce us to believe. When we loſe the firſt, the laſt will decline.

It

It therefore behoves our rulers, and their committees, to attend to the importation of raw ſilk and cotton wool, from our own provinces in the Eaſt Indies, where we can obtain any quantity we pleaſe, without the expence and danger of colonizing.

	s.	d.
The beſt cotton wool imported into this country, and ſuch as I am informed, is now much wanting for the new muſlin manufacture, is called Cayanne, the preſent value of which is, per pound - - -	2	6
There is another ſort, called St. Domingo cotton wool, inferior to the firſt, which is, per pound - - -	1	8
A third ſort, called French or Martinico cotton wool, which is, per pound - -	1	7
A fourth, called Smyrna or Turkey cotton wool, valued, per pound - -	1	3
The joint value of the four ſorts, appears to be 7s. for the four pounds, or the average price for one pound - -	1	9

I have been informed, that the greateſt part of the cotton wool which is imported into, and uſed, in this kingdom, is of a middling quality, between the

the firſt and fourth ſorts; and that the annual quantity imported, amounts to about 30,000 packs; each pack, on an average, contains 280 Engliſh pounds weight, and of courſe, the 30,000 packs jointly contain 8,400,000 pounds. This quantity, at 1s. 9d. per pound, the preſent price, ſtands the nation in 735,000*l.*

As I have taken the whole of my information, relative to the importation of cotton wool, and the quantity annually uſed in the nation, from others, *I do not pledge myſelf* on that part of the ſubject, to accuracy. It is ſufficient that our merchants do import a large quantity of that raw material, that the cotton manufacture increaſes faſt, and that it is of conſequence to our general commerce, that due attention ſhould be given to it. But *I do pledge myſelf* for the truth and accuracy of what follows, as the reaſoning and remarks have been drawn from my own practice and experience, in the cotton wool commerce of Aſia.

I do then affirm, that in the provinces of Surat and Broach, and other diſtricts on both ſides the Gulf of Cambay, now held by the Eaſt India Company, and which are under the government of Bombay, there does grow in vaſt abundance, and in greater quantities than to treble the amount of the quantity annually imported into Great Britain: And further, that when the laws ſhall be

repealed, which are now in force, prohibiting the importation of India cotton wool, the Eaſt India Company will have it in their power (and I ſhall prove it to be their intereſt) to import into this kingdom annually, as much cotton wool, commonly called Surat cotton, as ſhall reduce the average price of the above mentioned four ſorts now imported, to 1s. or perhaps 10d. halfpenny per pound, which is juſt half of the average ſelling price of cotton wool now in England.

There is a ſort of Surat cotton called *Amood*, whoſe fibre is finer, though I believe not ſo long as the Cayanne cotton; the latter alſo communicates to the touch, a more ſilky or oily ſenſation; but the Amood is naturally of a whiter hue, or complexion.

Gogo cotton may ſtand in the ſame degree of compariſon with the St. Domingo, as the Amood does with the Cayanne, but on the whole is better cotton. The inferior ſorts of Surat cotton, of which there are ſeveral ſorts and degrees, is certainly better than the Martinico or Smyrna cotton; and was more care taken to pick it, and grind out the ſeeds, in the firſt inſtance, it would, on an average of its quality, be equal, if not ſuperior, to the St. Domingo, or ſecond ſort. On the whole, it appears to me, that the Surat cotton is better calculated by nature to be ſpun, whether

whether by machine or by hand, into finer thread, than the Weſt India or Turkey cotton.

As the importation of cotton wool from the Eaſt Indies, will be attended with many advantages to the Eaſt India Company in particular, as well as to the kingdom in general, I ſhall give my ideas on the ſubject at large. The firſt object is the reduction of cotton wool from its preſent average price of 1s. 9d. per pound, to 1s. per pound, or under. Secondly, to prove that it may be effected, without deranging, in the leaſt degree, the preſent mode of conducting the Eaſt India Commerce. Laſtly, that it may be ſo managed, as to be extremely beneficial to the ſtock holders, the freight owners, the captains and officers in the ſervice at home, and to the conveniency of their ſervants abroad.

I muſt premiſe, that no objections will ſtand againſt my taking into my calculation, the whole quantity of the cotton wool now imported into England, from all parts of the world. No matter what proportion of that aggregate ſum, the Eaſt India Company may at firſt be induced to import; the operation of reducing the ſelling price of cotton wool in this country, will commence: for if, in the firſt four years of their trying the experiment, their importation ſhall not equal the preſent importation, yet, in the following years, it will moſt likely come up to, if not exceed it. Their own

induſtry and exertions, muſt regulate their importation. For the general advantages propoſed to ariſe therefrom, if I do not prove them, why I muſt ſink down to a level with Mr. Edmund Burke, and other viſionary ſchemers, or Jacks of all trades, who fancy that every thing may be learnt from books and theory, without practice.

It is very well known, that the Eaſt India Company's ſervants abroad, have no mode left them, whereby to tranſmit their private property to this country. The Company cannot admit of their paying money into their caſh abroad, for bills on them at home, on any terms whatever; and the ſtate have excluded them from lending it to foreign Companies, by a law of the land. What poſſible mode can be deviſed, better calculated for the purpoſe, than the increaſe of the Company's imports of raw materials, to be bought in India, with money ſupplied them by their ſervants abroad? I ſhall ſpeak poſitively, for I challenge refutation. Let the ſum of money which may be annually wanted, at Bombay or Surat, to provide by contract, the cotton intended to be ſhipped off at Bombay for England, amount to what it will, the Company's ſervants in Aſia, together with the the free merchants, free mariners, executors to the eſtates of dead men, the attorneys or agents of widows, guardians of orphans, &c. &c. will ſupply it on the following terms:

They

They will pay in at Bombay, or Surat, to the Company's Governor and Council, the ſilver Bombay rupee, at the exchange value of two ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling, to be repaid them again in England at the expiration of two years, allowing them for the laſt year of the time, three per cent. intereſt for their money ſo advanced.

The money provided, now for the cotton. I bar all cavilling about quantity; becauſe it cannot be underſtood, that I think it poſſible, or even prudent, at once, to ſtock the market with ſuch a quantity of a raw material, from a new and unexpected quarter. Commence with two ſhips load the firſt year, and increaſe it gradually, as circumſtances may offer, and prudence direct.

Having reſted my argument on the quantity annually imported into England, I ſhall carry that idea quite through the whole of my eſtimation: but the intelligent reader will obſerve, that the advantages propoſed to ariſe from the execution, can be but in proportion to the extent of that execution. I have only to prove, that the Eaſt India Company have it in their power to import into this kingdom by degrees, Surat cotton wool, of any given quantity, ſo as to ſell it at 1s. per lb. deliverable at their warehouſes in London.

The quantity now imported from all parts of the world, on a rough eſtimation, amounts to 8,400,000 pounds weight of cotton, which is 3750 tons long weight, of 2240 Engliſh pounds to the ton; ſo that it will require ſixteen of the Company's ſhips, to be annually employed to bring to England, this immenſe quantity of cotton; as it is well known, that on an average of their tonnage one with another, the Company's ſhips will not ſtow more than 230 to 240 tons of cotton wool, together with their neceſſary ſtores, water and proviſion, for ſix months; ſo that 3750 tons, divided equally on board ſixteen of the Company's ſhips, gives to each 235 tons, within a ſmall fraction of a ton. The Company's freight ſhips are never employed by them, for more than four voyages to India, except in extraordinary caſes, when they are diſtreſſed for tonnage, or take them up to ſerve as tranſports: but as this ſeldom happens in times of peace, I will ſuppoſe that one twentieth part of the number of their freight ſhips, have run out their four voyages every year, which yet remain excellent good ſhips, not more than half worn, but from the ſtanding rules of the ſervice, are by them no more taken up. In war time, the owners ſell them to tonnage jobbers, who freight them to government for ordnance ſhips, maſt ſhips, &c. in peace, their value is reduced, being much too large for other parts of commerce; inſomuch, that the hull and ſtores, are always ſold for 1400 to 2000*l.* ſterling.

I am

I am convinced by experience, that theſe old Indiamen (as they are called) after having had a complete and thorough repair in all their parts, their maſts, yards, and weight of metal reduced, and their round houſes taken off, would be very capable of making four voyages to Bombay for cotton, provided that they ſhall be compelled to leave England in the month of March, and to ſail from Bombay, in the month of October following; which every ſeaman in the Company's ſervice, well knows are the proper ſeaſons for ſecuring an eaſy, ſafe, and pleaſant paſſage out and home, and give full time to load and unload at both places. Should four voyages for cotton be thought too much for the old Indiamen to perform, let them be changed every ſecond year. There are of them ſufficient in the ſervice, to ſupply the rotation; and there is not a ſhip but what might perform two cotton voyages, after her four freight voyages were compleated.

The captains of the Company's freight ſhips, often find it difficult to procure owners; becauſe their new ſhips being now very dear, and always from twelve to fifteen years in running out their voyages, and having but four freights, it does not produce moderate intereſt on their capitals; but by this plan, four voyages more in the ſervice will be ſecured to them, with a very good freight: The preſent objections to become owners, will be effectually removed.

When

When the four voyages of the ſhip are run out, the captains are obliged to ſtay at home until a new ſhip can be built, which is often very inconvenient to their affairs, and a great waſte of time: but the new ſhip may as well be built in their abſence, and when ſhe is ready, a maſter will never be wanting to command the cotton ſhip. By taking up four old ſhips the firſt year, for this new cotton trade, and four more every ſucceeding year, in four years time, the whole tonnage will be provided; and as at the end of that time, the firſt four ſhips would have run their four cotton trips, they would be ſucceeded by four others, and ſo on *ad infinitum*.

It may be the opinion of ſome good ſeamen, that a voyage to Bombay, and home, cannot, with certainty be performed, ſo as that the ſhip may be ready to enter on her ſecond voyage by the firſt of April. To this I ſhall only obſerve, that it will be but matter of opinion on both ſides: but if a priviledge of 600*l.* for the voyage, to the captain, was to be offered to be paid if he ſucceeded, and only 300*l.* if he did not, the voyage would be completed within my propoſed time, or I am much miſtaken. At all events, ſhould the rotation ſhips not arrive in time, four additional ones might be kept ready to ſupply deficiencies, which would always be to be had, amongſt the ſame caſt tonnage of the Company.

Having

Having ſhewn that ſhips, money, and men, may be had for the plan, without cauſing the minuteſt alteration in the Company's preſent mode of conducting their affairs, I proceed to conſider the proviſion of the cotton.

It may be ſaid that whereas there is a conſtant and regular demand for Surat cotton, for the Muſcat, Mocha, Malabar, Bengal, and China markets, ſo unexpected a demand as that of 2,100,000 pounds of cotton, which is the quarter part of our annual importation, and neceſſary to load the firſt four ſhips, would cauſe a very great advance in the price of Surat cotton. I ſhall admit the fact, merely that I may not run this outline work into too great length, and make allowance for it in the purchaſe price at the ſame time. I could prove, that the frequent failures of markets at the above mentioned five Aſiatic ports, give great checks to the cultivation of the cotton ſhrub in the provinces about Surat, inſomuch, that the cotton trade at that great mart, is a commerce of ſpeculation, rather than of certainty. The prices fluctuate ſo extremely, that every three or four years, numbers of merchants are ruined, by having bought up too much, and the cultivation is in conſequence ſtopped. *On the reverſe, a conſtant, certain, regular

* On the Malabar coaſt, Bengal, and China, they have cotton of their own growth; of courſe the demand for foreign cotton, depends on the goodneſs or badneſs of their own crops. England cultivates no cotton; her demand would in conſequence be more certain and regular.

demand,

demand, would induce more cultivation, and gradually ſupply all that we want for the Engliſh market, without affecting the preſent price in any degree at Surat. Such is the nature of all ſtaple commerce. If demands for the linen of Ireland and Scotland, and the woollen of England, was to increaſe one twentieth part, or five in the hundred, annually, at the end of twenty years, the quantity made would be doubled, without affecting the price in the leaſt. Indeed I could produce inſtances to prove, that ſuch regular increaſing demands, for the real ſtaple articles of a well regulated nation, cauſe them to fall in their real value. Though the conſtant decreaſe in the value of ſilver and gold, gives it a different appearance, to thoſe whoſe opinions are governed by the denomination of current ſpecie only.

Mr. Hornby, Governor of Bombay, has ſerved the Company forty-two years. I would pledge myſelf, that that honeſt man would execute every part of the plan, which depended on the providing the money and the cotton; orders ſo to do, and ſhips to bring it home, muſt be ſent from hence. And as the plan tends to enlarge the influence *within the bar*, and the intereſts *without the bar*, and alſo will operate to the owners intereſt, the ſhips huſbands intereſt, the captains intereſt, and the officers intereſt, and not incommode one of the loweſt clerks in the loweſt offices about the

India

India Houſe, I do hope that a ſcheme for the public good, will not be oppoſed at the eaſt e nd of the town.

It may be neceſſary, in order to bring my cotton plan into one point of view, to give a ſketch of the invoice from Bombay, the account ſales in Europe, and from both, ſtate the probable advantages which may ariſe from the adoption of it.

Invoice of ſundry parcels of Surat Cotton, bought on account of the Eaſt India Company.

	Bom. Rs.	*Bom. Rs.*
Amood cotton, equal to muſter No. I. ſent from Europe, called Cayanne cotton wool.		
2,100,000lb. or 2800 Surat candys, of 750lb. each, at 90 rupees per candy -	2,52,000	
Broach cotton, equal to muſter No. II. called St. Domingo cotton wool.		
2,100,000lb. or 2800 Surat candys, of 750lb. each, at 80 rupees per candy -	2,24,000	
		4,76,000

	Bom. Rs.	Bom. Rs.
Brought over —		4,76,000
Gogo cotton, equal to muſter No. III. called Martinico, or French cotton wool.		
2,100,000 lb. or 2800 Surat candys, of 750 lb. each, at 70 rupees per candy -	1,96,000	
Jumboſſeer cotton, equal to muſter No. IV. called Smyrna, or Turkey cotton wool.		
2,100,000 lb. or 2800 Surat candys, of 750 lb. each, at 65 rupees per candy -	1,82,000	
		3,78,000
	First coſt	8,54,000
Charges Merchandize.		
Expences allowed the contractors for the cotton, for having packed the whole quantity into bales of 280 lb. each bale, inſtead of 375 lb. which has been the cuſtom of India, and which makes a difference of 7600 packs, at 3 rupees per pack — —	22,800	

	Bom. Rs.	*Bom. Rs.*
Brought over —	22,800	8,54,000
Freight from Surat to Bombay, at 2 rupees per pack, on 30,000 packs — —	60,000	
To expence of landing, houſing, repacking, reſcrewing, and reſhipping, at Bombay for Europe, with every petty incidental charge included, rated very liberally at 3 rupees each pack —	90,000	
Conſolage or commiſſion on the firſt coſt, allowed to be charged, and divided amongſt the Company's ſervants at this ſettlement, as encouragement to them, for ſeeing that the cotton is very clean, and well packed, 5 per centum, which on 8,54,000 Rs. the firſt coſt, is — —	42,700	
		2,15,500
Bombay Cur. Rs.		10,69,500

	£.	s.	d.
N. B. For the above ſum of rupees, we have drawn bills agreable to order, on the Company, payable in Europe, at 730 days, or two years after date, allowing an intereſt of 3 per cent. for the laſt year, which, at the exchange of 2s. 6d. for the Bombay rupee, comes to pounds ſterling			
Principal	133,687	10	0
One years Intereſt	4,010	12	6
£.	137,698	2	6

Bombay Caſtle, in the year of our Lord

(Signed)

London. Account Sales of 30,000 *Packs of Surat Cotton Wool, imported this year on ſixteen ſail of the Eaſt India Company's ſhips, each bale containing* 280 *Engliſh pounds, lotted in equal proportions of the four different ſorts, and ſold on an average, at* 1s. *per pound.*

	£.	s.	d.
Neat weight 8,400,000 *lb.*	420,000	0	0

Charges

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over				420,000	0	0
Charges merchandize, on importation.						
Not well knowing to what amount this article may run, an allowance of 5 per cent. on the groſs ſales will I believe be ſufficient —	21,000	0	0			
Freight, allowing the Company's ſhips to be rated at 600 tons each ſhip, on an average of the whole ſervice, and ſtating of 20*l.* per ton, to Bombay only, as a fair medium of freight, the freight of 16 ſhips comes to	192,000	0	0			
	213,000	0	0			

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	213,000	0	0	420,000	0	0
To the above charges muſt be added the groſs amount, purchaſe at Bombay —	137,698	2	6			
				350,698	2	6
Which being deducted from the groſs ſales at home, leaves a profit to the Company of	—	—		£.69,301	17	6

A ſum more than equal to a dividend of 8 per cent. on their original capital ſtock of 3,200,000*l.* for three months of the year, accumulated without an advance of one ſhilling of their own money, or giving interruption to any other part of their current buſineſs.

I am aware that it will be obſerved, that I have tied down the ſhips to the performance of their voyages exactly in one year, with the allowance of 1000*l.* per month for each ſhip, for that year only, but made no conſideration for demurrage, ſhould they

they fail to perform the voyage within the time, nor any conſideration or deduction, for prompt payment, which the Company allow on the receipt of money at all their ſales. To the firſt I anſwer, that I have propoſed a mode to furniſh the Company with 9600 tons of ſhipping, on which they may export merchandize, troops, marine ſtores, military ſtores, mariners for their marine at Bombay, proviſions, and every thing elſe they want for their ſettlements on that ſide of India, every year, for which tonnage, if they will but give the uſual credit at 5*l.* per ton, 48,000*l.* is furniſhed, and that ſum they may divide amongſt the owners, as demurrage, if they pleaſe. To the ſecond I ſay, that having the uſe of their ſervants' money for two years, paying only 3 per cent. intereſt, which intereſt has been already allowed in account, they will have full time to realize the proceeds of the cotton, without the uſual deductions for prompt payments.

Once more I will recapitulate the ſolid advantages which the adoption of my plan will in time produce.

I have taken my information from very good authority, that there is imported into this nation, 30,000 packs of cotton wool annually, containing 8,400,000 lb. the

	£.	s.	d.
average price of which is now 1s. 9d. per lb. and of courſe ſtands the wholeſale merchants in —	730,000	0	0
I have ſhewn that by degrees, the Eaſt India Company may deliver the ſame quantity of cotton to them, equally good, for ——	420,000	0	0
Which will be a ſaving to the nation in the firſt inſtance, of the ſum of * —— ——	£.315,000	0	0

* There are ſome men whom I know, in public ſtations, whoſe ideas are ſo confined, as not to be able to comprehend a general calculation. The terms millions and thouſands, and thouſands of millions, puzzle them in ſuch a manner, that what between conſciouſneſs of their own ignorance, and the fear of detection, they become ſo out of humour, and out of argument, as to have no reſource left, but to ſay, in general terms, that they hate all innovation and alteration of old modes, in carrying on the Company's affairs. Leſt men of this ſtamp, who, having power, will keep it, though the Iſland was ſinking into the ſea, rather than quit to ſave their country, ſhould be induced to throw the book away, becauſe the calculations have been made on a large and liberal ſcale, I will reduce it to milkwife arithmetic, for their eaſe and conveniency.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
A pound of the *worſt* ſort of cotton wool ſells now in London for —— ——			1	3
A pound of the *beſt* ſort may be bought at Surat, very highly rated, for —— ——	0	4		
Freight to Europe, very liberally paid, per lb.	0	6		
Charges merchandize, of every poſſible kind, commiſſion, &c. &c. &c. per lb. ——	0	3		
			1	1
Neat proceeds per lb.			0	2

N. B.

That the nation in general, the Eaſt India Company, their ſervants abroad, the ſhips owners, the captains, and every denomination of men who act under them, would benefit by ſuch a plan, I have aſſerted; if there are objections which can be made to it, except that it would be injurious to the trade and navigation of our good friends the Americans, and their new allies, the French, I really ſhall be much obliged to ſuch gentlemen as will point them out. The great breach made in the empire at the late peace, has deranged the whole of our foreign commerce. I think and ſay, becauſe I have proved it in part, and if I had time and room, could do it in the whole, that our loſſes in the weſt, may be repaired by a due attention to our commerce in the eaſt. If

N. B. After having allowed on the freight, and on the general and particular charges merchandize, full 25 per centum, above what they really ought to coſt, and as well as buying the *beſt* cotton wool at Surat, and rating it at the *loweſt* ſelling price in England, there remains a clear gain of 2d. per lb. or 70,000l. on the annual importation of 16 ſhips cargoes, which will be a profit to the Company themſelves of 4375l. per ſhip. The ſmall difference in the general and particular eſtimates, is not worth obſerving, having uſed round numbers in both: but it may be worth obſerving, that on the gentleman from whom I had my information, ſaying that the price of cotton wool was now high, I ſunk on the general average price of the day, the ſum of two-pence halfpenny the pound, which, on the whole quantity, is a ſum equal to 87,500l. ſterling.—If hereare not arguments enough, general and particular, to rouſe ſome men from their ſlumbers, I have done with them.

the Committee would ſeek for our loſt gum trade on the eaſt ſide of Africa, in the Gulf of Mocha, at the ports of Aden and Muſcat, and in the Gulf of Perſia; for our loſt cotton trade, at Surat, Broach, and Cambay; for the dying woods (which we muſt have) along the Malabar and the Coromandel coaſts; at Bengal, for as much raw ſilk as we want of its kind; and at the ſame place, to the improving our excluſive right to the valuable articles of ſalt petre and opium, which, under proper management, may be made to produce enough to pay for ten ſhips load of tea at China annually, as well as for the preſent quantity of raw ſilk imported from that country into this. Such enquiries, and ſuch inveſtigations, would do honour to a body of mercantile ſenators.—The other mode may do them credit too;—but I hope rather in Spain than Great Britain.

PART V.

IN the firſt report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, much information is to be met with, relative to the improper conduct of the Judges at Bengal, and in conſequence, an act paſſed to limit their juriſdiction, and curtail their power.

At

At the meeting of the next Seſſions of Parliament, the Committee was continued to ſit; and as it was recommended from the throne, to their conſideration, *how the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, might be held with moſt advantage to this country*, it was natural for me, a merchant by profeſſion, to purchaſe the following five reports, in the hope of finding ſome information, on the commerce of that country. I have been moſt cruelly diſappointed, and ſpent my money very fooliſhly; for the Committee ſeem to have turned the whole force of their enquiry, in ſearch of matter wherewith to criminate Governor General Haſtings. This purſuit was rather unlucky for their credit, as it was well known that their Chairman, and the ſcribe on whom they depended for a gloſſary to their reſearches, were the declared enemies of Mr. Haſtings. Some barbarous inſinuations in the body of the ſecond report, and a confidential reference back to the firſt for evidence to ſupport them, gave a different turn to the affair, than what the leaders expected. Their weak battery was attacked, and their fallacious inſinuations were *detected* and *ridiculed*. The facts on which they were founded, proved to be erroneous, and their inſinuations conſequently falſe and groundleſs. This public detection inflamed the parties, and much time was waſted in culling evidence to ſupport aſſertions, which having no foundation in truth, could not be ſupported. They grew aſhamed of their evidence, ſo could

not

not produce it. The penman, Mr. Edmund Burke, finding that ſix reports had followed one another, without his having convinced a ſingle perſon of Governor Haſtings's criminality, grew abſolutely furious. In the Houſe he called him a *delinquent*, without producing a ſingle act of delinquency againſt him.—Such unſeemly, unmanly, ungentlemanlike conduct, towards an abſent individual, may be ſanctified by the cuſtom of parliament, and their priviledges are things ſo ſacred, that I ſhall not meddle with them. However, the calling a man a delinquent, and the proving him to be ſuch, are very different things. When Mr. Burke ſhall produce creditable evidence, to prove Governor Haſtings a delinquent, in any one action of his life, I muſt ſubmit; until he does, I cannot help thinking but that the orator has done more harm to his own character, by his inveterate enmity, than to the Governor General's honour.

Since I have diſcovered that Mr. Burke, notwithſtanding the profeſſions of candour which continually drop from his mouth, has lurking about his heart as much rancour and malice as any other man, I have been at ſome pains to ſtudy his character, from his writings, his ſpeeches, and his actions. The reſult has been, that I have found him to be a mere manufacturer of words, inconſiſtent in his conduct, ſuperficial in his knowledge, and what is worſt of all, malicious in his diſpoſi-

tion.

tion. I ſhall devote a few pages to prove theſe facts, in which I hope to ſucceed better than he has lately done, in his attempts to injure Mr. Haſtings in the opinion of the public. If I do not, I muſt be content to be held in as much contempt as all men of candour and temper hold him, for his conduct to that much injured gentleman.

A very little time before the formation of the Select Committee, Mr. Burke made a long ſpeech in Parliament, in order to introduce his plan of reform, for the civil liſt, &c. A few quotations from that famous ſpeech, will ſhew how well Mr. Burke can reaſon, when his intereſts are not in danger, or his vicious paſſions put in motion. In ſuch temper of mind, no man ſo capable of ſetting the Houſe on a roar. But when his judgement is impeached, or his littleneſſes detected, no man is ſo teſty or ſo furious. The following quotation from the above ſpeech, would do Mr. Burke great honour, if, by his late behaviour, he had not ſhewn, how very different a thing it is to make moral ſpeeches, and to practiſe morality. " It is neceſſary, " in all matters of public complaint, where men " frequently feel right, and argue wrong, to ſe- " parate prejudice from reaſon, and to be very " ſure in attempting the redreſs of a grievance, " that we hit upon its real ſeat, and its true na- " ture. Where there is an abuſe in office, the firſt " thing that occurs in heat, is to cenſure the offi-

" cer.

" cer. *Our natural diſpoſition leads all our enquiries* " *rather to perſons than to things.* But this prejudice " is to be corrected by maturer thinking."

I think ſo too; and muſt lament the prejudices of that man, who can preach ſo well, and perform ſo ill. If Mr. Burke had found real matter of crimination againſt a man, in ſo high and reſponſible a ſtation as Governor General Haſtings, to have acted conſiſtently with his own doctrine, he ſhould have produced it to the Houſe in the regular form, and left the Houſe to proceed thereon; inſtead of which, he admits the writings, and mere verbal opinions of men, known to be the declared enemies of Mr. Haſtings. From theſe writings and ſpeeches, (conſiſting entirely of mere matters of political party opinion,) he fancies that he diſcovers delinquency, adopts them for matters of fact, and growing violent in their ſupport, deſerts his own excellent theory, and proceeds to calling an abſent gentleman a delinquent, inſtead of proving him to be ſuch. " I would, Sir," ſays he, in another place, " recommend to your ſerious conſi- " deration, whether it be prudent to form a rule for " puniſhing people, not on their own acts, but on " your conjectures? Surely it is prepoſterous at the " very beſt. It is not juſtifying your anger by their " miſconduct, but it is converting your ill will in- " to their delinquency."

Yet

Yet Mr. Burke is puniſhing the Governor General on no other principle. On what act of delinquency in Mr. Haſtings's conduct, does the orator reſt his charge? Abſolutely on none, but on his own *ill will* to that gentleman—How founded, I may ſhew by-and-by.

In another part of his ſpeech, he declares it to be his principle, that, "If he cannot reform with "equity, he will not reform at all."

Is it equitable, is it juſt, to take every opportunity to prejudice the Houſe againſt an abſent man, by dark inſinuations, and violent exclamations, unſupported by fact or evidence of any kind, except ſuch as he was himſelf aſhamed to produce?

The firſt ſix reports have been laid before the public, in the formation of which, great pains were taken to fiſh out ſomething criminal againſt the Governor General, but without effect. The induſtry of the Chairman, on which Mr. Burke complimented him, and the great ability of the penman, on which the Chairman returned the compliment, with the aſſiſtance of Governor Haſting's mortal and implacable enemy, Mr. Philip Francis, to direct the Committee what papers to call for from the India Houſe, have produced nothing but partial extracts, and *ex parte* evidence; which the more

they

they are canvaſſed, and the more they are read, the clearer and brighter the Governor General's character appears; and nothing remains, but the glaring inveteracy of his enemies.

Who would have imagined that a Committee, ſitting for two years, with all the papers and clerks at the India Houſe at their devotion, ſhould not have been able to produce one ſingle criminal charge againſt a man, who has ſerved the State and Eaſt India Company, for thirty two years! A cloſe inveſtigation into the conduct of Governor General Haſtings, was what his friends were deſirous of, but had not the means to bring it about. Fortunately two or three men, who, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves, wiſhed his deſtruction, had the direction of a Committee, where this very enquiry might be entered into; and to it they went, with paſſions ſo heated, and prejudices ſo ſtrong, that being blinded themſelves, they fancied every body elſe was ſo. Foiled at every point, they condeſcend to the vulgarity of calling names. Not in Stock's Market, not at Billingſgate, for the ſtudents at thoſe famous academies, never do it but *viva voce*,—but in the Britiſh ſenate. If an abſent man, in a high and important ſtation, may, with impunity, be ſcurrilouſly abuſed, for the honour of the Houſe, I think thoſe who are capable of ſuch unſeemly behaviour, ſhould now and then be called to order.

That

That Mr. Burke's knowledge of commerce is very ſuperficial, I have aſſerted: if it was not ſo, we ſhould have found ſome traces of his abilities, in the reports delivered to the world, avowedly of his compoſing. I own I am quite aſhamed, at ſeeing ſo much time and paper waſted, to inform the public, how it happened that Mr. Macpherſon became a Bengal Counſellor, or Mr. Benfield found his way back to Madraſs. I will give the Houſe more information on both thoſe important matters in a few lines, than are to be found in reports, which took ſix weeks to arrange and compoſe. The ſimple matter of fact is this,—Their friends were in power, and they were ſerved.—Juſt as Mr. Burke himſelf, when in power, ſerved his friend and couſin, Mr. William Burke, by having him created paymaſter to the King's forces in India; and obtaining by ſome means, not yet come to light, credentials for him to appear as Ambaſſador (from God knows who) at the court of the King of Tanjour. Meſſrs. Macpherſon and Benfield, had ſerved the Company for years, and had ſome kind of right to their appointments. Mr. William Burke was known neither to King nor Company, but was lifted into both appointments by the influence of Mr. Edmund Burke, at the very moment of time, that he was employed in drawing up reports criminating others, for the ſame conduct when in power.—Is this patriotiſm, or what is it?—To avoid a charge of national reflection, I forbear to call it Hibernian impudence.

The

The people without doors, are gaping for more reports. No doubt but they expect ſome account of the Committee's having gone into an inveſtigation, of the means how to retrieve our mercantile loſſes in the weſt, by a proper application of the raw materials, which our ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies produce, and moving the Houſe to repeal ſuch acts, as may ſtand in the way of a free importation of them into this country. If ſuch are their expectations, I will venture to ſay that they will be diſappointed. Nothing has been further from the thoughts of the Committee. They have been governed in their reſearches, by the all-knowing Mr. Burke. That gentleman has, by ſome kind of witchcraft, impoſed himſelf on the Engliſh nation, for a perſon converſant in general commerce—A greater impoſition never took place. He knows no more of the fundamentals of commerce, than Lord Cheſterfield did of aſtronomy: but being a man of many words, he will talk;—good Gods, how he will talk!—But that is all he can do; for a more ſuperficial trifler in real ſubſtantials, I never knew. If every plan, and every ſcheme, that he has hitherto produced, will not prove what I ſay, why I refer to the expected reports from the Select Committee, where he governs every thing. It will be found that much time has been ſpent, in enquiring how the Eaſt India Company's ſervants at Bengal, go about to provide Dacca and Maulda muſlins, and Luckeypore baffties. Much extract

from

from record, much parole evidence, and much comment from Mr. Burke, on both thoſe ſubjects, will crowd the body of the report, and ſtuff the appendix.—But if real information is wanting, read the following.

Dacca and Maulda muſlins, have always been imported by the Eaſt India Company fully manufactured, and of courſe, entered at the cuſtom-houſe for exportation. The Luckeypore baffties, ſome years paſt, like the Madraſs long cloth, were further manufactured in England, that is they were dyed, at Bow, Stratford, and other places, and in that ſtate were permitted to be retailed in the ſhops, under the denomination of printed callicoes. But if they underwent that operation abroad, they were then called chintz, and forbidden to be ſold or worn in England. But the Eaſt India Company wiſhing to increaſe their imports from Bengal of every kind, as the returning ſhips from that part, brought to hand the balance of their Aſiatic eſtate, and ſupported their expences, their dividends, and their credit of every kind, have, for ſome years paſt, ordered their ſervants abroad, to print the Luckeypore baffties at Bengal, that they may reap the full advantage of the remittance, by the goods being fully manufactured, and of courſe more valuable here. But then like the muſlins, they are now entered for exportation, and are never out of the King's or Company's ex-

export

port warehouſes. This being the fact, what benefit to the trade of this kingdom, can ariſe from a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, ſpending their time in inveſtigating ſuch ſimple matters, as the the above articles of import, of merchandize fully manufactured? I will pledge my credit, that this paragraph will convey more real information on the ſubject (if ſuch information be wanting) than the whole report of the Committee, come out when it may.

Coming ſo near an important article of manufacture, and not going into an inveſtigation of it, could only happen from that ignorance, of which I ſo much complain in the ſelf ſufficient Mr. Burke. For at this moment of time, there are new manufactures ſet up in Somerſetſhire, both for muſlin, ſimilar to the Maulda, and callico, ſuch as the baffties. To find the means how to bring theſe great undertakings to perfection, would be employment worthy a Committee of the Houſe of Commons; and as they forgot it, I have ſupplied their deficiency, by introducing my plan for the importation of Surat cotton wool, with which the Somerſetſhire manufacture will rival the Bengal, and make importation unneceſſary.

There are thouſands of acres of land in Bengal, as well calculated for the cultivation of indigo, as any

any in the world. Half the encouragement that has been given to the cultivation of that plant in America, and the Weſt Indies, would induce a vaſt exportation of that article from Bengal, ſo much wanted in this country. But I have given inſtances enough to prove, that the managers of our Committees, would rather devote years to the gratification of private ſpleen againſt Governor Haſtings, than a ſingle hour to finding means of taking the ſhackles off the trade of their country, by diſcovering and introducing, new materials, to ſupport our much ſhaken general commerce.

In the ſame ſpeech from which I have drawn the above quotations, the orator, who conceives that every thing may be learnt from books, ſpeaking of the now demiſed board of trade, ſays, "We want "no inſtruction from boards of trade, or from any "other board; and God forbid we ſhould give the "leaſt attention to their reports. Parliamentary en-"quiry is the only mode of obtaining parliamentary "information. There is more real knowledge to be "obtained by attending the detail of Buſineſs in "the Committees above ſtairs, than ever did "come, or ever will come, from any board in this "kingdom, or from all of them together." And he goes on to turn into ridicule, the then members of the board of trade; who certainly deſerved ſome chaſtiſement for their ignorance in matters, which they accepted of the public money to conduct; or

for

for their cowardice, in not anſwering this man of words; for he deſcribes the whole board, as having been members of Parliament. But there is ſome witchcraft in eloquence, which deprives common men of their underſtanding. I myſelf, have heard this meddling Jack of all trades, talk perfect nonſenſe, as it related to the real matter of fact under debate; but then he did it in ſuch eaſy, harmonious, flowing language, as covered his own ignorance from the gaping crowd about him in ſuch a manner, that had a man of ten times his real knowledge, attempted to anſwer him, he would have failed from want of practice in ſpeaking in public, or from being deficient in that kind of *front*, ſo neceſſary to popular orators. This the loquacious tribe ſo well underſtand, that one of theſe wordy *bullies*, whether at St. Stephen's Chapel or Coachmakers-Hall, will ſmother another man's good ſenſe, by a rapid flow of unmeaning words, compoſing bold and daring, though ignorant aſſertions.

Will this gentleman go on to recommend the peruſal of his reports, as productions in which any ſingle article is to be found, worth the knowledge of the public, relative to our affairs in Aſia? If he ſhould, I believe no bookſeller will go to the expence of publiſhing them.

One more quotation, and then to my laſt head. It has been taken from the ſame ſpeech of the orator's

tor's, made in Parliament in the month of February, 1780.

" If ever there were commercial points of great " weight, and moſt cloſely connected with our " dependencies, they are thoſe which have been " agitated and decided in Parliament, *ſince I came* " *into it*. Which of the innumerable regulations " ſince made, had their origin, or their improve- " ment, in the board of trade? Did any of the " ſeveral Eaſt India bills, which have been ſuc- " ceſſively produced ſince 1767, originate there?

God knows where they originated, but this I know, that every time Parliament have interpoſed in our Eaſt India affairs, ſince the period above mentioned, much confuſion and diſorder have in conſequence enſued. At this moment, a parliamentary vote of recal hanging over the head of Governor General Haſtings, his enemies abroad are making a vile uſe of it, in perſuading the country powers to hold out a little longer, when his removal will procure them every thing they want, as his ſucceſſors will have poſitive inſtructions to conclude a peace with them *on any terms*.

On the 13th of this month Mr. Burke declared in the Houſe of Commons, that he had ſtudied Eaſt India affairs for twenty years, but more particularly for the laſt three.—How has he ſtudied

 them?

them?—Through the miſt of party and prejudice; with a mind inflamed againſt one individual; to bring about the removal of whom, he leaves behind all decency. He publicly abuſes, and privately traduces, the man, whom he is about to judge. His inſinuations have been detected, and proved to be falſe; his arguments refuted, and his violence expoſed. Still he goes on to abuſe, and by dint of aſſurance, hopes to ſucceed. Such violent partizans are not true patriots. Brutus ſtabbed his friend over his ſhoulder—And Brutus was a patriot, and an honourable man. Mr. Burke vilifies the character of a man whom he never ſaw, and whom he would no more face manfully, than he would a royal tiger. His weapon is the weapon of a ſplenetic, vindictive woman. This Cato of Briſtol, would follow the chariot wheels of power, and pick up any fragments of the ſpoil, but never find a Utica. One patron, whom it has been the buſineſs of his life to flatter, no ſooner diſappears, than with unwiped mouth, he applies his lips to the poſteriors of another. Lord Rockingham hath given; Lord North may give. When the boaſted labours of this *diſintereſted* gentleman in the Committee, comes to be examined, nothing poſſibly will appear more futile and ridiculous. But he will cram them down the throat of Parliament.

Mr. Burke talks of manufacturing commercial bills, to regulate our Aſiatic affairs, in the Houſe of

of Commons, with as much confidence, as he would of fabricating ſpeeches, or party pamphlets. I have heard that he has now on the anvil, a bill to new form and regulate our Eaſt India commerce. Poor Old England! Stripped of thy poſſeſſions in the weſtern world, by the wretched botch work of one ſet of ſtate taylors, another is about to try experiments on thy poſſeſſions in the eaſt. Some ſay that thy ſun of glory is for ever ſet in the weſt; and I ſay that our ſun in the eaſt will never get up again, if ſuch pretenders to mercantile knowledge, as I have proved Mr. Burke to be, comes to form Bills for the direction of our Aſiatic commercial affairs.

Whatever may be learned from books, Mr. Burke is a tolerable maſter of; of practical knowledge, he has not a grain. But ſo full is he of himſelf, and of his own ideal plans, that was he to conſult with every truly commercial man in this kingdom, he would draw no benefit from it: becauſe having formed his notions of every circumſtance, which can occur in mercantile polity, from reading, he puts queſtions, not with the view to obtain information, but to confirm his own ideas. If the anſwers do not ſuit him, or his plans, he twiſts and turns his queries until they do. I have been examined by him, know his manner of proceeding, and poſitively declare, that all ſimple, plain anſwers, which lead to real information, are of no uſe to him, except they tend to con-

firm what, in his own mind, he has already determined ſhall be the law. The honourable gentleman is in love with his own ideas, and like all other lovers, he aſks advice, not that he intends to follow it, but in the hope of meeting others of the ſame way of thinking.

My laſt charge againſt this famous orator is, that there is extreme malice in his diſpoſition. Governor Haſtings ſupported Mahomed Ally Cawn, the Nabob of the Carnatic, in his pretenſions to the ſovereignty of the kingdom of Tanjour. It happened that Mr. Burke's couſin was employed by ſome of the Rockingham party, as agent to Lord Pigot, who ſupported the Rajah againſt the Nabob. But his Lordſhip having died before the agent, Mr. William Burke, arrived, he found his way to Tanjour, and perſuaded the Rajah, or King, that he was the commiſſioner of a ſtrong and powerful party in England, who ſupported Lord Pigot's, and of courſe the Rajah's intereſts. Great trafficking enſued between the Rajah and the agent, who, after having made a voyage to England for new powers, has lately been appointed ambaſſador to the Rajah, into whoſe capital he laſt year made his public entry; and to ſhew to the Rajah that the people who ſent him, had influence in our court, his couſin, when in power, procured for him the appointment to the paymaſterſhip of the King's forces in India; a newly created office; and that

that at the moment when he was teizing the Houſe with his plans of economy.—The orator may ſneer at, but he dare not deny theſe facts.

It is to this political manœuvre that we muſt turn, to find the cauſe of the orator's rancour to the Governor General of Bengal. The Chairman's violence in the ſame cauſe, has long ſince been noted in Leadenhall-ſtreet, until at length he got himſelf diſpiſed by the other Proprietors. His friend the penman's aſperity, has had an effect almoſt ſimilar in St. Stephen's Chapel. Moderate men turn with diſguſt, from his threadbare abuſe of an abſent man; and honeſt ones from his extraordinary conduct, in whiſpering about that the Governor General has received one hundred thouſand pounds for his own uſe. General Clavering, Col. Monſon, and Mr. Philip Francis, gave it under their hands, to the Company and to the Miniſtry in 1775, that Governor General Haſtings had, in the courſe of two years and a half, accumulated half a million ſterling. Mr. Philip Francis, the only ſurvivor, has been told that ſuch their aſſertion, was neither more nor leſs than an infamous falſhood; and that worthy man ſhrinks from the charge, and creeps about from hole to corner, like a foreigner amongſt his own countrymen. The great orator, has patronized and given him countenance, for the information which he brought; though it was ſuch as no honeſt man would have given, or good man have received.

Mr.

Mr. Burke propoſes to ſtake his character againſt that of Governor General Haſtings; but nobody can tell why or wherefore. For my part, I cannot underſtand how two ſuch diſcordant ſpirits can be oppoſed to each other; or in what point of view, their ſeveral qualities will bear a compariſon. Mr. Haſtings was born in England, Mr. Burke in Ireland. Whilſt the former was ſtudying at Weſtminſter, the latter was doing the ſame at St. Omer's. When the orator was laying in materials for writing his treatiſe on the ſublime and beautiful, the Governor was ſtudying the rudiments of the Perſian, Mooriſh, and other languages or dialects of Hindooſtan. Whilſt the orator was employed by booksellers, to write Annual Regiſters, and remarks on other periodical publications, Mr. Haſtings had charge of the national affairs at the court of Coſſim Ally Cawn, Nabob of Bengal. Whilſt the orator was writing inflammatory pamphlets, to ſupport the intereſts of the party to which he had attached himſelf, Lord Clive was recommending to the Eaſt India Company's notice, the riſing abilities, and extenſive capacity, of Mr. Haſtings. Whilſt Lord Rockingham was ſecuring the oratorial abilities of our unprovided for adventurer, by procuring him a ſeat in Parliament, and giving promiſes of future reward, the Eaſt India Company rewarded the long ſervices of Mr. Haſtings, by appointing him Deputy Governor of Madraſs.

Hitherto

Hitherto Plutarch himſelf, were he alive, would not be able to contraſt a ſingle action, or feature, of the orator, with a ſimilar one of the Governor. The former entered into Parliament, and undertook the ſervice of a party, under promiſe of future reward. The Governor was appointed to an honourable ſtation, as a reward for former ſervices, whilſt the new member purſued his old occupation of writing pamphlets, and making ſpeeches, in ſupport of a party. Mr. Haſtings was appointed Governor of Bengal, on account of his uncommon integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs. Whilſt the whole time of the orator was engaged in finding matter to diſtreſs adminiſtration, and ſupport rebellion, the Governor General devoted every moment of his life, to the duty of ſupporting and defending our territories in the eaſt. Whilſt Mr. Burke, in his place in the Houſe of Commons, boaſted of his correſpondence with Doctor Franklin, at that time a declared rebel to his country, and a public reſident at the French capital, and in a time of war with that nation, Governor Haſtings adviſed the Miniſtry and the Eaſt India Company, that he had not left a Frenchman on the continent of India. At the time when the Governor General received advice that the legiſlative powers of his country, and his maſters the Eaſt India Company, had appointed him *for the third time* Governor of Bengal, Mr. Burke was refuſed, by his conſtituents at Briſtol, any further confidence, as their repreſentative in Parliament.

ment. When, by a change of hands in the miniſterial department, the thouſand times ſelf praiſed, diſintereſted Mr. Burke, got into power; offices and emoluments, to the tune of ten thouſand pounds per annum, were ſecured to himſelf, his brother, ſon and couſin; whilſt the Governor General was pledging his own private credit, to ſupport the national and Company's intereſts in Aſia.

When a peace was forced, the empire diſmantled, and the nation left without government, the factious and turbulent ſpirit of Mr. Burke was employed to ſnatch up ſpoil from the ruins. The Governor General of Bengal ſtood firm in his poſt, like Atlas, ſupporting the eaſtern wing of this once mighty empire, become of more importance from the balance having been deſtroyed by the loſs of the weſtern wing.

Whilſt the orator foams at mouth like a lunatic, and keeps running about, endeavouring to deſtroy the Governor's character in the opinion of his fellow ſubjects, Mr. Haſtings, unconſcious of the matter, from never having given the leaſt cauſe of offence, goes on to perform his duty to his country.

What now can Mr. Burke mean by ſaying, that he will ſtake his character againſt that of Governor Haſtings?

Haſtings? What has Mr. Haſtings to do with him, or he with Mr. Haſtings? Does he hope to abuſe him into a coalition, and ſo ruin him in the opinion of the world? Succeſsful as he has proved with others, in that department of patriotic duty, I wiſh him not to flatter himſelf with any ſuch hope. When ever, or however, Governor Gen. Haſtings may be removed from his government, he will retire as other great and good men have done, to ſome private retreat, and quietly enjoy the heart felt pleaſure, ariſing from a conſciouſneſs of having done his duty to his country, to the beſt of his judgement, and without ſpleen to mankind, (never having been the aggreſſor in any one of the many furious diſputes, which embittered his active ſcene of life, and impeded the adminiſtration of his government) ſlide down the vale of years calm, cheerful, and ſerene, conſcious of never having been guilty of one action, in his public or private capacity, the publication or recollection of which, will ſully his honour, or diſturb his repoſe.

Provoked, as he has been, in a thouſand inſtances, he never ſtooped to traduce or revile, the public or private character of friend or enemy, abſent or preſent. Laboured and elegant, as the character Mr. Burke may give or leave to the world, of his great friend the Marquis of Rockingham, what more can he ſay in his praiſe? and as I know the Governor as well as he did the Lord, my unadorned,

adorned, artleſs account, will meet with equal credit with all diſpaſſionate men.

I have one requeſt to make to the patriotic orator, which is, that he will never affect to change his opinion of Governor General Haſtings. If twelve years of violent and, in ſome inſtances, ſcurrilous abuſe of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, meant no more than a deſire to be taken into keeping by the noble Lord, I have a right to conclude, that certain overtures from the Governor, or his friends, would effectually ſtop the orator's mouth. To affront a man to his face, is a common injury, which an inſtant chaſtiſement may remove; but to abuſe me behind my back, and that in a place where priviledge is as ſacred as in the Houſe of God, is an inſult at once both baſe and contemptible.

True virtue is moſt amiable, and real patriotiſm her firſt born and beloved offspring. The features by which ſhe is beſt known, are love of country, honour, honeſty, charity, ſteadineſs, mildneſs of diſpoſition, pure diſintereſtedneſs, and an abſence of all the mean and unruly paſſions. Whether the Member of Parliament for Malton, or the Governor General of Bengal, anſwer beſt the above deſcription of a real patriot, I ſhall leave to the deciſion of thoſe who have a right to judge between them.

The

The right honourable orator has recently expreſſed his ſurpriſe, at the preſumption of the Proprietors of Eaſt India Stock, for voting the continuation of Governor General Haſtings in his ſtation at Bengal, after a vote of the Houſe of Commons had paſſed for his removal, procured when only forty-two members were preſent. Men who deny a right in the crown to the nomination of its own ſervants, may juſtify ſuch doctrine; but who ſhall tell us where the line will be drawn, or at what point the patriots will ſtop? If the crown and Eaſt India Company have no ſuch righr, or hold it by ſo precarious a tenure as a vote of the Houſe of Commons, how can inferior bodies, or individuals, be ſecure in their agents or ſervants? I have but one ſervant, and yet if a vote of the whole Houſe of Commons, or of the Houſe of Lords, was to order his diſmiſſion, upon my ſoul I would pay no more regard to it, than if all the inhabitants of Bedlam were to ſend me ſuch an order. I know but one power competent to the giving ſuch orders, and that is a joint Act of the Three Eſtates; to that every man muſt ſubmit. Jointly, they conſtitute a legiſlative power, whoſe acts are the laws of the land. Thoſe every good man muſt and will obey; and the ſame man will for ever reſiſt partial, paſſionate votes, which, from their nature, bear marks of tyranny on their ſurface.

Why is the honourable gentleman diſpleaſed with the Eaſt India Company? Becauſe they will not join the vote of the Houſe of Commons, and addreſs the King for the removal of an old and faithful ſervant. This manly defence of their legal rights, in oppoſition to paſſion and prejudice, the honourable gentleman conceives merits disfranchiſement; that is, he had rather ſee the Company, and our trade to Aſia, annihilated, than not indulge the gratification of his private ſpleen. But he draws over it the old and deteſtable cloak of pretended patriotiſm, and his concern for the public good. Thou old, infatuated, bullet-headed fellow, John Bull, how long wilt thou continue to be gulled by ſuch pretenders to virtue? Once more attend to the language of this virtuous man, and remark that the following paragraph was addreſſed by him to the very men, whoſe good qualities he has lately diſcovered, after near twenty years of ſcurrility and abuſe—Becauſe there was no ſafe way to office and emolument, but by a recantation of all his former ſentiments and principles—"A corps "feels mighty cold abed."—The Marquis is dead; but the Lord liveth!!!

When Mr. Burke wrote "Obſervations on a "late State of the Nation," his ſentiments of right and wrong, as they relate to the Eaſt India Company, were as follows.

"The

" The fact is this; the East India Company had " for a good while, solicited the Ministry for a ne- " gotiation, by which they proposed to pay large- " ly for some advantages in their trade, and for the " renewal of their charter. This had been the for- " mer method of transacting with that body. Go- " vernment having only leased the monopoly for " short terms, the Company has been obliged to " resort to it frequently for renewals. These two " parties had always negotiated (on the true princi- " ples of credit) not as government and subject, but " as equal dealers, on the footing of mutual advan- " tage. The public had derived great benefit from " such dealing: But at that time new ideas pre- " vailed. The Ministry, instead of listening to the " proposals of that Company, chose to set up a " claim of the Crown to their possessions. The ori- " ginal plan seems to have been to get the House " of Commons to compliment the Crown with a " sort of juridical declaration of a title to the Com- " pany's acquisitions in India, which the Crown, " on its part, with the best air in the world, was " to bestow upon the public: Then it would come " to the turn of the House of Commons again to " be liberal and grateful to the Crown: The civil " list debts were to be paid off, with, perhaps, a " pretty augmentation of income. All this was to " be done on the most public spirited principles, " and with a politeness, and mutual interchange of " good offices, that could not but have charmed.

" But

" But what was beſt of all, theſe civilities were to " be without a farthing of charge to either of the " kind and obliging parties—*The Eaſt India Com-* " *pany was to be covered with infamy and diſgrace,* " *and at the ſame time was to pay the whole bill.*

" In conſequence of this ſcheme, the terrors of a " Parliamentary enquiry were hung over them. A " judicature was aſſerted in Parliament to try this " queſtion. But leaſt this judicial character ſhould " chance to inſpire certain ſtubborn ideas of law " and right, it was argued, that the judicature was " arbitrary, and ought not to determine by the rules " of law, but by their opinion of policy and expe- " diency. Nothing exceeded the violence of ſome " of the managers, except their impotence. They " were bewildered by their paſſions, and by their " want of knowledge, or want of conſideration, of " the ſubject. The more they advanced, the further " they found themſelves from their object. All " things ran into confuſion. The Miniſters quar- " relled among themſelves. They diſclaimed one " another. They ſuſpended violence, and ſhrunk " from the treaty. The enquiry was almoſt at its " laſt gaſp, when ſome active perſons of the Com- " pany were given to underſtand, that this hoſtile " proceeding was only ſet up *in terrorem*; that go- " vernment was far from an intention of ſeizing " upon the poſſeſſions of the Company. Adminiſ- " tration, they ſaid, was ſenſible, that the idea was

in

" in every light full of abſurdity ; and that ſuch a " ſeizure was not more out of their power, than " remote from their wiſhes ; and therefore, if the " Company would come in a liberal manner to the " Houſe, they certainly could not fail of putting a " ſpeedy end to this diſagreable buſineſs, and of " opening the way to an advantageous treaty."

What an honeſt deſcription has the honourable gentleman given of the conduct of parties in Parliament in the above paragraph, and how happy are we who are governed by them! He and his friends have changed the battery, and inſtead of covering the Eaſt India Company with infamy, they attempt to cover the Governor General with it. The reaſon is clear ; the Company itſelf has been ſo fleeced, that they are declared to be nearly in a ſtate of bankruptcy, and no more can be ſqueezed out of them ; but there are yet ſome good offices in their ſervice, and many of the orator's friends are needy. Reform, regulation, and amendment, in every department of the ſtate, are uſeful words, and Mr. Burke knows as well as any man, how to ring the changes on them. A patriot may ſay, and unſay, what he pleaſes, and when, and how, and where he pleaſes. Muſical words have charms to ſooth old John Bull to ſleep. Paddy can tickle him as eaſily as he can a trout. The ſtate parties have long ſince played the old game for the odd trick. At nine all honour goes for nothing. A new bill

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is a new pack, and each gambler ſhuffles and cuts to his own game. What has honour to do with a man, who muſt become a miniſter or ſtarve? If one party win the game, one ſet of men will be found to be the moſt capable to reſtore our affairs in Aſia: if the other party win, why then another ſet of men will become the moſt capable. Both ſides hold up poor Sir Thomas as a ſcare crow. Look here, ſays the Lord Advocate to the Houſe, we have him. Aye look, rejoins Mr. Burke, do you not ſmell him? Why, my worthy friends, adds he, Nabobs are all alike; and you muſt ſubmit to an *ex poſt facto* law in order to condemn him, or he will eſcape. Nay you muſt believe me when I ſay, that the preſent Governor General of Bengal, is a delinquent, and that againſt evidence, common ſenſe, and common juſtice: if not, why you will drive us to the neceſſity of bringing in a bill to disfranchiſe the Eaſt India Company, or we ſhall never be able to get away that great culprit, Mr. Haſtings, who now ſtands appointed by Act of Parliament, Governor General of Bengal for nine years to come, in which time numbers of our friends would be able to make ample fortunes in Aſiatic offices.

I hope that I have convinced ſome of my readers, that the great orator's talents lie more in the art of varniſhing well his tale, and directing his eloquence to the preſent feelings of the Houſe, than in any principle of action, eſtabliſhed, or purſued, by

by himſelf, in any former period of his life. I could wiſh them to attend to his conduct and behaviour, to the end of the preſent Aſiatic farce. Meaſures which require *ex poſt facto* laws, cauſes which cannot be ſupported but by *ex parte* evidence, and arguments which require ſcurrilous abuſe to enforce them, give noble opportunities to orators by trade, to ſhew their parts. The cataſtrophe of the preſent comedy, will turn out to be, that the noble General muſt be crammed down the throats of the Eaſt India Company, for a Governor to one of their ſettlements, or at leaſt a Commander for one of their armies. They have already had ample ſpecimens of his abilities, and ought not to doubt his improvement under ſuch a tutor. But the orator ſhould recollect, when he declares, that he can put his finger no where on a Nabob, but it touches ſome ſore place, that his friend the General, was one of the firſt who was called ſo, and by his rapacity abroad, and his ridiculous oſtentatious vanity and extravagance at home, made the appellation a term of reproach throughout the land—But perhaps Nabob and Patriot are ſynonimous terms.

Almoſt tired of a ſtage, whereon ſuch patched and pie-bald Jack Puddings, ſell half guinea doſes for a ſingle ſixpence, to the gaping, credulous, and ever-to-be cheated million, I leave the General, and his friend the orator, as I have often done the predatory Doctor, and his convenient Jack, with

with a mixture of risibility at their impertinence, and contempt for their duplicity: And remain

Their humble Servant,

And old Correspondent,

The AUTHOR.

London, March
the 22d, 1783.

THE END.